

Miscellany

Pamphlets

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

Present STATE

OF

Great BRITAIN.

With several Remarks upon the Reigns of King
James the First, Charles the First, &c. Unto
the end of the *Stuart's Race in Queen Anne.*
In a LETTER to Sir *William Whitlock.*

*Errours in time may be redress'd,
The shortest Errours are the best.*

By a Country LAYMAN.

L O N D O N :

Printed for E. Smith in Cornhill, 1717.

Price 1 s. 6 d.

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Printed in London, by J. Smith, in Cornhill, 1777.

By a Country Lawyer.

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TO THE
HONOURABLE
Sir William Whitlock.

S I R,

THIS Reason only that distinguisheth Mankind from Brutes; and Acts done with Reason, shew themselves to be done by Men, and not by Brutes: But he that acts against the Reason God hath given him, acts not the part of a Man, but that of a Beast; yet we see too many in our Days, that neither Live nor Act according

to their Reason, but in a direct opposition to their own Reason and Sense, to their eternal Dishonour.

But Sir, your Conduct frees you from such Imputations. I have chosen therefore to direct the enclosed Letter to you, and chiefly for two Reasons; the one is your great Age and Experience in Publick Affairs, and being the Offspring of that Great and Learned Man the Lord Keeper *Whitlock*, who, with other Brave and Worthy Men, did not disdain to stand up for the Rights and Liberties of *Englishmen*, in that Parliament of *Forty and Forty One*, which had been invaded, as you and I can't but know.

And Sir, you can't but be sensible that there was many Wise and Learned Men, both in that Parliament, and in the Publick Employments in the

the Kingdom, which did not then make a Prey of the Nation, whatever vile Names the Black-Coats, from their Pulpits give them, who know nothing of the Matter, but by hear-say. No vast Estates were then got out of the Publick; on the contrary, many serv'd the Publick for nought, to the impoverishing their own Estates: Men were not then employ'd that sought for Places; but instead of such, honest Men were sought for, throughout the Kingdom, that were fit for the Places.

Nay, Sir, some of the Arch Rebels themselves, such as *Oliver Cromwell*, &c. Though he made himself *Protector of England*, &c. yet was so far from enriching himself, or his Family, out of the Spoils of the Nation, that his Posterity scarce had sufficient to maintain themselves.

Howe-

However, Sir, You know he was hang'd at last; and though he made such a mighty Noise and Bustle in the World, while alive, yet when he came to be hanged at *Tyburn*, he had not one Wise Word to say for himself.

My other Reason for directing to you is, Sir, in remembrance of your early joining and promoting the late *Revolution*, by the Prince of *Orange*: 'Tis true, indeed you seem'd to be some time after disgusted, as well as others, which you know of; yet the Pains and Charges you were at to Entertain that Prince upon his Journey to *London*, ought never to be forgot.

But Sir, having troubled you with this long Letter already, shall not give you any farther trouble now, but

but only put you in mind of the restlessness of our Adversaries, that call themselves the *Church*, notwithstanding the Disappointments God hath given them; yet still, no longer than the 30th of *January* last, they were endeavouring all they could to Spirit up the People to a New Rebellion, striving who should outdo one another, in railing against *Forty One*, &c. Intending, we not, doubt to blow up the People to get ready against a New Invasion from *Sweden*, which they are very big with; and no doubt, expect Success. But he that hath deliver'd us hitherto, I doubt not, but will still do it, tho' their Designs are laid never so deep; which is the earnest Desire of

Your Servant

English.

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S O M E
CONSIDERATIONS

On the present STATE of
Great BRITAIN.

S I R,

BEFORE we enter upon the present State of the Nation, it may not be amiss to look a little back into former Transactions of our Kings, and the Government of *England*, &c. But not to go farther than the *Stuart's Race* which began in the Person of King *James the First*, called the *Peaceful King*.

We all know he was bred in *Scotland* a *Protestant*, and instructed by that eminent and learned Man *Buchanan*, who was, in those Days, esteemed one of those called *Puritans*; yet, some small time after this King's arrival in *England*, if not before, his Byass lean'd as well for the Religion of *Rome*, as Peace with his Neighbours

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abroad

abroad ; and it was hard to say, whether his Fear of a War abroad exceeded his Zeal for the *Romish* Religion at home.

For the supporting such a surmise, we must crave your patience to mention but few Particulars, which appear'd plainly in his Reign, and too obvious to be deny'd.

First, Not to mention his hatred to those call'd *Puritans* in that time, and his Toleration of Sports and Pastimes on the Lord's Day, commonly call'd *Sunday*, as did afterwards his Son *Charles* the First in this Kingdom of *England* ; but his particular Favours shewn to all *Papists* and *Popish Recusants* whatever, notwithstanding the divers Complaints and Addressles in Parliament against the *Popish* Faction : And so kind was this Pacifick King to those *Papists*, that we find in the Year 1622, he sent his Orders to the severall Justices of the Peace in *England*, for releasing multitudes of *Popish Recusants* then imprison'd on that account ; witness his Lord Keeper's Letters to the Justices of Assizes, in these or the like Words, viz. *That the King for deep Reasons of State, &c. had resolved to shew some Grace to the imprison'd Papists, and that they should make no difference to extend the same to all such as they should find Prisoners for Church-Recusancy, refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, dispersing Popish Books, or any other Point of Recusancy that should concern Religion only, &c.*

The next Observation I shall make of his Byas for Popery was, his ardent Zeal for matching his Son *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, one of the most zealous *Papists* in *Europe*, and came of that Family that

was

was always not only conspiring against *Queen Elizabeth*, but was also conspiring against himself heretofore, and endeavouring always to root the *Protestant Religion* out of the World: And,

King *James* to obtain that Match, was content to make it almost on any Terms that the *Spaniards* and his *Unholyness* would put upon him; see the Printed and the Publick Articles, by which it was agreed, " That she should not " only enjoy the *Popish Religion*, with all her " Priests about her, but to suspend all the Penal Laws made against *Papists* in *England*; " and, That the Children of that Marriage " should be under the Mother's Government " and Tuition, until they should attain the Age " of Nine Years at the least, others say Ten or " Twelve Years; " which was as much as to say, they were to be bred *Papists*; and nothing less could be expected from such an Agreement, the *Papists* knowing well how difficult it would be to alter those Children in their Principles, after such a long Education in the *Popish Idolatry*.

And to accomplish this intended Match, he not only courted the *Spaniards* with all imaginable kindness, in granting every thing *Spain* ask'd, but even courted his *Unholyness*, to the Sacrificing his Son in Law the Prince *Palatine* himself, for his Favour and Friendship for this Match; and in his Correspondence with his *Unholyness*, he was pleas'd in his Letters to stile him by the Name of *Most Holy Father*: But that's not all, this Pacifick King did assure his *Unholyness*, That his Zeal was so great for an Accommodation among Christians, that he

would meet his *Unholyness* half way to effect it, and for ought appears to the contrary, in his whole Reign, would have gone throughout, could he have accomplish'd his Will, for all these Condescensions of his were made by him both to *Spain* and *Rome*. At that very time, the Parliament of *England* seeing the danger of *Popery*, were perpetually complaining and addressing to him, both against the Match, and for putting the Laws in execution against *Pope-ry*; but the *Spaniard*, and the *Emperor* having baffled him, and wrested the *Palatinate* quite out of that Prince's Hands, thereby obtain'd what they aim'd at by their delays at last.

This Pacifick King finding himself deluded by the *Spaniard*, he breaks off the Match, after he had ventur'd his Son *Charles* to go a Court-
ing into *Spain* to the hazard of his Person, and the shame of the *English* Nation: All the fruitless attempts being now over in *Spain*, King *James* of a sudden makes his Court to *France*, for to match his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, with *Mary* a Daughter of *France*, a Princess equally bigotted to the *Roman* Superstition as she of *Spain*, and as dangerous to the *English* Nation; but nothing would satisfie this Pacifick King, but a *Popish* Princess for his Son Prince *Charles*, tho' the Parliament always advis'd against it, and gave such strong Reasons to His Majesty, that he could give them no other Answer from time to time, than telling them they had nothing to do in the Secrets of State Affairs: However, Prince *Charles* still own'd himself a *Protestant* of the Church of *England*, tho' he had the Misfortune to be much suspected to be a fa-
vourer

vourer of his Princess's Religion, by many Actions of his Life, as well as by his Letters to his *Unholyness* while in *Spain*; nor was it much wonder'd at by some, that the Prince of *Wales* did also prove himself of the Church of *England*, since at that time, as well as since, the Principles and Practices are so near akin, as manifestly appears by our late Rebellion both in *England* and *Scotland*, being both now joined together for the destroying the *Protestant* Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the People.

And, Sir, these things are so plain and fully verifi'd by the Lord *Derwentwater's* and others Speeches on the Scaffold, and at the Gallows, that it would be but lost time to give you any further Proof, unless it be that of *Paul* the Clergyman and Col. *Oxburgh* one a *Papist* profess'd, and *Paul* the Church of *England-Man*, both agree in their Practices and Principles at their several exits, and both own and justify the late Unnatural Rebellion, from the Doctrines of their several Churches.

And yet, Sir, if you would have further Proof of the Principles and Practices of the Church of *England*, and Clergy, as they call themselves, let them but peruse Mr. *Howel's* Papers lately taken in *Jewin-street*, and Dr. *Hickes's* Books and Papers, and there it may be seen, that they, the Clergy of the Church of *England* do not only own, and justify the late Rebellion, but condemn all those that profess themselves of the Church of *England* for *Schismatics* and *Heretics* that pray for, or own the Government of our Gracious Sovereign King *GEORGE*, tho' establish'd on the Throne of *Great Britain* by the

best Title in the World, which is the Laws of the Land as you can't but own.

But to return from this digression, King *James* having deliver'd up himself entirely to the Counsels of the then Duke of *Buckingham*, and to the High-flown Clergy's Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* in those times, which was only *Poper*y in Masquerade ; and having shamefully deserted the Cause of his Son in-Law as before in *Germany*, rather than take any Counsel or Advice from Parliaments through Obstinacy and Weakness ; and having, as before, began for the *French Match* with his Son Prince of *Wales*, he soon after leaves the World, and dies at *Theobalds* not much lamented.

His Son *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, is solemnly proclaim'd, as his just Right, King of *Great-Britain*, &c. great Expectations were from him ; his Match with *Mary of France*, soon after the Death of King *James*, is compleated, wherein she had not only the Liberty of enjoying her *papist* Religion, but many Priests about her from forreign Parts, and by her Means great Resort of *Papists* infested our Court and Country, and King *Charles* inheriting his Fathers Religion and Obstinacy, took all Care imaginable to tread in his Fathers Steps, both as to Religion and Councils ; and *Buckingham*, who was by King *James* so much admir'd, was, if possible, by King *Charles* more admir'd, insomuch, that all Power and Trust was, as it were, committed to his Care, and so continu'd during the Life of that Duke, notwithstanding his being a suspected *Papist*, and his Dutches and Relations known *Papists* all their Days,

King

King *Charles* being now settled on the Throne, with *Buckingham* at the Head of all Affairs, and the King's Coffers being but low, notwithstanding King *James's* peaceable Reign; King *Charles* nevertheless in the first Year of his Reign, began to raise an Army for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and so early gave out a Commission contrary to all Law, to execute martial Law in divers Places of the Kingdom, especially at *Plymouth*, that it seem'd strange to the Nation: The same Year according to the private Articles of the Marriage, a Proclamation is issued out, to set at Liberty the *Papists* then imprison'd, and were to be no more molested for their Religion, and the Goods of the *Papists* that were seiz'd, restor'd; and the twentieth of *May* that Year, the King granted a Pardon to about twenty *Roman* Priests condemn'd for Recusancy; and that Year, not only great Multitudes of Priests came over, but the Fryars walked the Streets in their proper Habits near *Westminster*, &c. notwithstanding the many Acts in force against the *Papists* and *papish* Recusants.

About that time the House of Commons having taken Notice of a villainous Book printed and published, written by *Montague*, entitled, *An Appeal to Caesar*, &c. done in King *James's* Time, and dedicated to him, the Commons voted it contrary to the Articles of Religion; the King being inform'd of that Vote, sent Word to the Commons he was his Servant, and he would undertake the Matter, and afterward *Montague* was prefer'd by the King, which was all the Punishment he underwent; the Substance of which Book was against the Liberty of the

Subject, and giving all Power to the King, to do what he pleas'd, and for supporting the *Arminian* Tenets, which was then the fashionable Religion at Court.

In King *James's* Time there had been Overtures made, and an Agreement by King *James* and the *French* King, for Seven Ships, one of which belong'd to the Royal Navy of *England*, the other hir'd Merchant Ships to go against *Genoa*, as was pretended; but in Truth was design'd to destroy the *French* Protestants at *Rochel*, then besieg'd by the *French* King: And when this came to be discover'd to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Lord High-Admiral in King *Charles's* Time, he instead of stopping the Project, an Order was obtain'd from the King, without more ado, to deliver the same seven Ships to the Order of the *French*, which was done accordingly, and those very Ships made use of to destroy the poor Protestants at *Rochel*. This, Sir, did not shew very much of Kindness from that Martyr to the Protestant Interest abroad, tho' a great deal to Popish.

The Parliament in the same Year, I mean the House of Commons, that notwithstanding his gracious Answer to them, to a former Address against the *Papists* and *popish* Recusants, not to pardon them; wherein his Majesty assur'd them he would take particular Care against the *Papists*, and the Preservation of the Protestant Religion; yet in *July* then last, he had pardon'd *Alexander Baker* a *Jesuit*, and ten other *Papists*, and the Pardon was dated the very next Day after his gracious Answer to their said Petition and Address,

Address, which shews the Constancy of the Martyr to his Word.

In this first Year of his Reigh, after having dissolv'd the first Parliament, for being too busy against the *Papists*, &c. he now orders Commissions for Lones to be made him throughout the Kingdom, instead of raising Money by a Parliament Authority: A new and unheard of Way to the *English* Nation till then: And by his Orders for this Lones, he directs an Account to be taken of all such Persons as refused to lend Money on these Lones.

This, I think, was the first Wound or Stab rather to the *English* Liberties. And this, Sir, must be further noted, that this Attempt from the Martyr, was long before the Parliaments of forty and forty one, for this was done in the Infancy of his Reign; and if such things as these were done in the Beginning, what was to be expected afterward, I leave you, Sir, to judge.

But now a Second Parliament is call'd, and when the Grievances of the Nation are look'd into, and the Danger the Nation was in by the Ways before mention'd: The King in a Message to the Commons tells them, that he will not have any of his Servants question'd by them, especially those near him, seeing they aim at the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. and a few Days after tells his Parliament by himself, and Lord-Keeper, that if they any more touch'd upon their Grievances, so as to complain of the Duke, &c. and if they did not by *Saturday* next, give him a final Answer about his Supply, his Majesty could not promise them to sit any longer.

longer. This treating might well enough have suited a Parliament of *Paris*, from whence it was learned; but sure, Sir, was a new Doctrine to the *English* Nation: And it must be still noted, that all this was long before the forty one Parliament, so often damn'd for Rebels by our High-Church Priests, &c.

But again to shew the Martyr's further good Inclinations for the preserving the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, in this Second Parliament, after this threatening them, it was a little mollify'd, by Order of his Majesty to *Buckingham*, who, in the House of Lords, made some Apology for that Speech of his Majesty, that it ought to have no such Construction put upon it, as Threatning.

About this time it happen'd that four or five notorious Priests and Jesuits, having shelter'd themselves in the Prison of the *Clink*, with Altars set up, and vast Treasure there found and seiz'd by the Marshal of *Middlesex*, by a Warrant of a Justice of the Peace of *Surry*; instead of encouraging that Seizure, an Order came to the Marshal while in the Search, from the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and the Attorney General, whereby the Seizure was stop'd, and forbid to remove or meddle any further therein.

Complaint being made to the Commons, the Commons address'd about that, and against the *popish* Recusants; whatever Answer was given by the Martyr, still no Remedy could be had.

In the second Year of his Reign, the Commons in Parliament having impeach'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, some of the Members of that House,

House, viz. Sir John Elliot, Sir Dudley Digges, for setting home the Charge before the House of Lords against that Duke in the prosecuting of that Impeachment, were by the King's Command committed to Prison, which was so great a Breach of the Priveledge of Parliament, that was not to be parallel'd in *England*: And should the late King *William*, or our Gracious King *George* have attempted any such thing, all the Pulpits in *England* would have rung us such a Peal that would have deafen'd our Ears with their Noife by this time. And thus far we may go, Sir, with your and the Church's leave: There scarce ever was a greater Attempt made upon a Parliament of *England* before.

But the Martyr did not only attempt upon the Commons Right as before, but the same Year, and during that Parliament's setting, His Majesty committed the Earl of *Arundel* a Prisoner to the Tower, without shewing any Cause whatever; and tho' the House of Lords made many Petitions to the Martyr, and even Remonstrances from time to time, yet he was not releas'd till the Lords grew so uneasy in the House, that they adjourn'd from time to time, and would go upon no other Business till he was re-deliver'd, then the Martyr releas'd him.

But it must be further observ'd, that how obstinate soever his Majesty appear'd to be against releasing both the Commoners and the Lords, as above, yet such was his tender Care and Kindness for his Minion the Duke of *Buckingham*, that no sooner was he under that Impeachment, but he made it his Study, with the help of the Church, as they call themselves, to procure

cure further Honours and Respect to that Duke, his Majesty leaving no Stone unturn'd till he had by those black Coats, got this impeach'd Duke to be chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, tho' those black Coats, by this Act, could have no other Design but to fly in the Face of that Parliament, who was studying all Ways in the World for the supporting his Majesty, and that Church they called themselves of; but such Influence had those black Coats on his Majesty, that they wrought upon him so far, as to prevail with him to write a Letter of Thanks to that University for chusing that Impeach'd Duke: And when the House of Commons began to be offended with the University for that Choice, the Martyr by a Message to the House of Commons, forbid them to meddle therein.

Thus we see Sir, not only the Martyr and his Clergy, both at that time, and during the whole of his Reign, and the Clergy ever since have and still do make it their Business to skreen all Traytors who are accus'd of betraying the Peoples Rights and Liberties, and are always supporting Arbitrary Government both in Church and State, except in the Reign of the late King *William* of Glorious Memory, and his present Majesty King *George*.

And Sir, we can't deny but that since the time of the Revolution, except some few, under whatsoever Name or Title distinguish'd, have, and do to this Day, make it their Business, not only to take part with those Traytors that were selling us to *France* by a villainous Peace, but under the Notion of *Passive Obedience*

dience and *Non-resistance*, have, and still are stirring up the People for supporting the late unnatural Rebellion, and joyning with the *Papists* to destroy that Religion they profess to be of; and this appears not a little by their *Oxford* University, whose Carriage has been such that can deserve nothing less than the destroying such a Nest of Vipers; for, let it be but consider'd, their Carriage, since King GEORGE came to the Throne of his Ancestors, have they not been the readiest on all occasions to make Tumults and Rebellions, taking part, and acting under hand with the Rebels; flying in the Face of the King and Government; chusing for their Chancellor the Brother of an attainted Traytor, and in all their Jollity and Mirth crying up *Ormond*, the very Traytor himself, as if they intended to settle him upon the Throne: But all this is not strange, if it be but consider'd what these Creatures are, that call themselves *High-Church*, and what they have aim'd at in all Ages, and that is to be independent from, and above all Law and Government whatever; but here we'll leave them at present.

To return where we left, the King's 2d Parliament, being now dissolv'd for Reasons aforesaid, his Majesty presently after puts out his Declaration, shewing Reasons, such as they be, for the dissolving that Parliament: The next thing was to make an Order under the Great Seal, for the levying the Customs on all Merchandise without gift by Parliament; and a Commission directed to several Persons, to compound with *Recusants* for their Popery, and an Order to the City of London for the sitting out

20 Ships of War at their own Charges, with Victualing, &c. under colour of guarding the Coast, &c. and such like Orders to other Towns and Parts in *England*, for fitting out Ships in like proportion under the like pretences.

These unheard of ways became very uneasie to all but the Court and Clergy : But when Complaints came from the Country against these unheard of Exactions, they were check'd by the King and his Council, and no redress could be obtained.

Besides, these strange ways of raising Money, and laying Loads on the People without consent of Parliament, and against the known Laws of the Land, Privy Seals were order'd to be deliver'd out for Loans from several Persons to others, by way of Benevolence ; and the Justices were order'd, in the Country, to send for Persons that were able to lend Money, and to deal with them singly ; and if any refus'd to lend so much as was appointed them to lend, the Justices were to examine them upon Oath who advis'd them to refuse lending, and the Justices were instructed to admit of no Excuses whatever ; and they were to be wary and take heed, to deal first with the most likely Persons to lend, to be a good Example to others.

These were such ways, that all honest Men stood amaz'd, and look'd upon such Proceedings both destructive to the King and Kingdom ; but besides all this, at the same time Soldiers were billeted for free Quarters in divers parts of the Kingdom, and Marshal-Law executed against the Laws of the Land, and divers Persons executed by Virtue of Martial-Law ;

Law ; so that in short, no Man was safe either in his Estate or Life ; for such as refus'd to lend, were secretly punish'd and imprison'd ; and some that would not comply, impress'd to serve at Sea on Board his Majesty's Ships, &c.

Thus, Sir, was their whole Frame of Government quite alter'd, and the Coronation Oath violated in so obvious and plain a manner, that no Reign since *William* the First, ever went so far to the utter enslaving the Nation ; yet so audacious were the black Coats, at this time, to help forward the Ruin of the Kingdom, as well as the King, that two of them, viz. *Dr. Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* had the Impudence to Preach and Print that the King had a right to all the Nation had, and whatever the King commands must be obey'd ; and that in a Sermon preach'd by *Manwaring* before the King at *Whitehall* in the 3d Year of his Reign, after the Dissolution of the 2d Parliament, he told the King he had such a Power, *That he is not bound to observe the Laws concerning his Subject's Rights, and his imposing Taxes and Loans on his Subjects without consent of Parliament was just and right ; and those that refus'd such Payments and Loans are guilty of Impiety, and that they are oblig'd to pay such Taxes, &c. upon pain of Damnation ;* this was then the Court-Doctrine hatch'd by those and others of their black Tribe, and so continu'd until the Revolution ; and 'tis to these Men, and their cursed Doctrine, that was the Cause of bringing the Martyr to his untimely end, and was the great Cause of misleading his Son King *James* the 2d to his own destruction.

And

And yet these Creatures on their Madding-Day, call'd the 30th of *January*, you shall hear them rail at the Rebellion of 41, and crying up the Politick Martyr as the greatest Saint in the World, chiefly for following their pernicious Doctrine, which was the Ruin of him and those about him.

And how these black Coats, such as *Luke Milbourne*, &c. should take upon them on those days to rail against the Rebellion of 41, when they know nothing of it, farther than my Lord *Clarendon's* History, which was curtail'd and interpolated, as you know, by the University of *Oxford*. How they, I say, can have the Confidence to rail at that Rebellion, and let alone their own unnatural Rebellion in King *GEORGE's* Reign, seems most preposterous: But all these things before-mention'd which King *Charles* the Martyr did by their assistance and advice, was done many Years before 41; and if that Parliament of 41 must be call'd a Rebellion, as by Law it is, surely they ought to know, if they do not know it already, that the Rebellion of 41 was pretended for the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject so invaded, as before; and that their Rebellion in King *GEORGE's* time was to destroy our Laws and Liberties, and the *Protestant* Religion, which those black Coats would make us believe they wish well to.

But to leave them for the present; only this I can't but take Notice of, the unheard of Zeal of these black Coats, to esteem a Man a Martyr only for Politicks, and because he was led away to his own Destruction, by following their
Advice,

Advice. As for the Religion which they would insinuate he dy'd for, 'tis plain, when he came to make his last Speech, he had almost forgot that, had not the Bishop put him in mind of it; for the chief of his Speech was about the Laws of the Land, and the injustice they had done him, contrary to the Laws of the Land; and his asserting his being not accountable to any but God Almighty. Now, I have heard in our Country, that a Man ought not to be esteem'd a Martyr, unless he dies for a Cause of Religion, and that till him, and some other late Martyrs, as they call themselves, taken in the Rebellion at *Preston*, are never esteem'd good Martyrs when they dye for Politicks, or through Obstinacy.

But I hope, Sir, you will pardon this digression, and before we go further into the Observations of the Martyr's Reign, allow me to take Notice of one thing, which the Papists put upon him and his Queen *Mary*, enough, I think, to have turn'd the Hearts of every *Englishman* from the *Popish* Religion; which was, by the Articles for the Marriage, the Queen was to have her Priests about her, and a Bishop over them, for exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; by means whereof, the Queen, as it seems, had done something Offensive to the *Popish* Religion, or at least these Priests and Bishops deem'd it so; and to expiate that guilt, whatever it was, they impos'd a Pennance upon her, *That she should make a Procession from her Lodgings to Tybourn bare-foot*, and that such a Procession was made by her to the Place aforesaid is undeniable.

'Tis true, the King did resent it, and complain'd to the Court of *France* about it, but the Complaint was soon accommodated, and no farther Notice taken ; this certainly, was enough to have given His Majesty a loathing to that Religion, unless he had been before pre-in-gag'd.

In this interval of Parliament, His Majesty had also confin'd the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and suspended him, chiefly because he wou'd not Licence a most Villainous Book, writ against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, by the contrivances of the Duke of *Buckingham*, which his Grace took very patiently ; but by this time, His Majesty had so far outdone all that was before him, in breaking *Magna Charta*, and all the old Laws made for the Security of the Subject's Liberty, that things became in the greatest confusion ; for now no Man could call any thing his own, the Clergy about the King having given him all right to command whatsoever the Subject had, and in these Notions the Court run on to the grief of all Honest Men.

These Lones and Benevolences came but heavily in, and the bad Success his Majesty had abroad against the Isle of *Rea*, &c. being chiefly attributed to the great Duke's Management, it put his Majesty under many and great Difficulties, Money being extremely wanted, to support his Majesty's Armies both abroad and at home ; this made his Majesty's Council to be-think themselves what to do ; at last it was agreed to call a New Parliament, which began in *March* the 3d of his Reign. And to palliate

a little what had before been done, Warrants were sent to release out of Prison all such as had been imprison'd for refusing the Lones before mention'd, there was about 19 Baronets and 13 Esquires releas'd, besides those in the *Fleet* and the *Gatehouse, New-Prison*, and in the Messengers Hands, which were not a few.

For, before the calling of the Parliament, there had been Commissions granted out also, for raising Money by way of Excise, besides the Lones and Benevolences, as if they had not gone far enough before, to the Ruin of his Majesty and the Nation; which Commissions were recalled against the sitting of this New Parliament.

The 17th of *March* they met; the King tells them the want of Money was great, and if they do not immediately supply him, he shou'd take other Measures, which God had put into his Hands, &c. This, with what done before, and the multitude of Complaints from all parts of the Transactions above-mention'd, made the Parliament to consider: First, if they had any thing to give, or if they were a free People or not: For by this Speech, and the former Actions in the Nation, it was very doubtful if we had any thing to give, especially if the King might take all we have at his Pleasure, without gift by Parliament, as was then the Doctrine of the Court.

Therefore, after many learn'd Debates, they thought it proper to see on what Foundation the Nation stood, and to examine the Antient Laws of the Land; which done, they voted a Petition, call'd the *Petition of Right*, to be presented

sent to his Majesty, and to have an Answer in Parliament, as a farther Security against the like Invasions for the future : But at the same time, so zealous was this new *House of Commons* for his Majesty's Service, that they voted him the greatest Gift that had ever been given before in Parliament at any one time, which was 5 Subsidies and 3 Fifteenths.

The Commons having drawn up some of their Grievances, his Majesty hearing it, assures them now, They shall never have the like occasion to Complain for the future, and that he would rectifie what had been amiss.

This Year also the *Petition of Right* passed, tho' with great Difficulty, wherein all the old Laws were confirm'd, and by which no Money or Taxes cou'd be rais'd but by consent of Parliament ; and all the Subjects freed from Illegal Imprisonment without cause shewn, &c.

The Commons then remonstrated to the King their Grievances, and against the taking of Tunnage or Poundage without Act of Parliament, and voted it a breach of the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and of the *Petition of Right* newly enacted.

June the 26th, 1628. The King comes to the House, and having gotten the Bill for the five Subsidies, &c. sends for the Commons to the Lords House, tells them he was accountable to none but God Almighty for his Actions, and passes the Bill, and immediately after, pardons those Divines that had been before sentenc'd in Parliament for writing against the Liberty of the Subject, &c. and advanc'd one to a Bishoprick, and to other Preferments in the Church :

At

At the same time order'd out Commissions to seize all Merchant's Goods for Customs, tho' not granted by Parliament; and notwithstanding the *Petition of Right* just passed, yet some Merchants are committed to Prison for Non-payment.

June the 20th the same Year, the Parliament met again, and taking into Consideration the receiving Money for Customs not granted by Parliament, was a known Violation of the Law. The King tells them now, he pretends not to take the Customs, &c. by his Prerogative: His meaning was, to enjoy them as the gift of his People, not to challenge them as of Right, but for Necessity, not for the right he had to take it; yet, for all this, goes on to take it as before.

This again caus'd divers Merchants to Petition against those that forc'd them to pay the Customs without Act of Parliament, the Officers being charg'd therewith by the Commons; they give for Answer, they were order'd so to do by the King; the Commons thereupon went about to frame, and put the Question for a Vote to pass against these unlawful Proceedings, contrary to the Laws of the Land; the Speaker, which was *Finch*, would not put the Question, being, as he told the House, commanded by the King to adjourn the House, which was done to the 25th of *February* following.

The 25th of *February* the House met again, and demanded the Speaker *Finch* to put the Question as before; he refus'd it again, telling the House he was commanded by the King to adjourn to the 10th of *March* following, upon

which refusal of the Speaker, some of the Commons read the Protestation following, in the House to this purpose, viz. *That whosoever shall seek to introduce Popery or Arminianism, or advise the levying of Tunnage or Poundage, not granted by Parliament, or be an actor therein, shall be reputed to be a capital Enemy of the Kingdom and Commonwealth: And if any shall pay Tunnage or Poundage not granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy thereunto, and then adjourn'd to the 10th of March aforesaid; at which Day the King came to the House, and dissolv'd the Parliament.*

○ This 3d Parliament being thus dissolved, after they had so eminently supply'd the King's Wants, as well as endeavour'd to help the Nation from those great Invasions before mention'd, the next thing the King did, was to imprison divers of the Members of the House of Commons, that were most active in helping the Nation, such as Sir *John Elliot, Stroud, &c.* And that they might not be releas'd by ordinary course in Law, remov'd them by the King's own Warrant, from Prison to Prison, and writing to the Judges not to deliver or Bail them: Other Persons were committed for not paying Customs, and some fin'd for what was said and done in Parliament against all Law and Usages of Parliaments, and notwithstanding the Petition of Right.

The Parliament now being gone, Bishop *Laud* and *Mountague* before censur'd by Parliament, he, and the rest of the black Coats about the Court, made their Writings continually for the

the King's absolute Government above all Law; and so audacious was one of them, to advise the King to be no more troubled with the Impertinences of Parliament, but to follow the Example of the *French King Lewis* the 11th, who, instead of the three Estates, chose such and such Persons as he himself should Nominate to act in their stead, by the Name of a Parliament, and this was the Frame the Clergy and Papist had laid, for the destroying the King and Kingdom.

But it must not be expected I can mention the Tithe of all the Irregularities, as my Lord *Clarendon* calls them, of this Reign, from his coming to the Crown, till the 16th of *Charles* the First; nor had so much been said now, but to answer those foul Mouth black Coats, who are continually pelting the Nation with 41, and the Rebellion; it would have been well for the Martyr, had he not harken'd to these Cheats, from his first coming to the Crown, to the last Year of his Reign: For, had not his Majesty began so early to invade the People's Rights, as before mention'd, and which can't be deny'd by any, except those that are made up of nothing but Untruths. I say, had not the Martyr began so early, and continu'd them so long as to the 16th of his Reign, that Parliament of Forty One, who, it may be, was the most able, and as Honest a Parliament at its beginning, that ever sat in *St. Stephen's Chapel*; whatever those black Coats may call them; then, I say, they had not felt the Burthen they did, by endeavouring to reform those Irregularities; nor the Martyr suffer'd by some of that Parliament: And

this must be [further observ'd, that the 41 Parliament, and for some Years after the first sitting down, took all imaginable Care to secure his Majesty's Person and the Nation, from those Evils that after befell both him and the Nation, by the Obstinacy of him, and his leaning to the pernicious Counsels of those black Coats, and others of their Faction.

And, if we look further than what has been mention'd already to be done by him in his first five Years, we may find Cause sufficient to blame him or his Council, for incensing the Nation against him. I am loath to go farther than those first five Years, being sure, in that time, so great a Blow was given to the *English* Constitution, that, as is said before, had not been known in any other Reign: And I must now say, That such things were done by, and under the Martyr's Reign, to the destroying the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, as no Prince since his time have committed; tho' the Nation very justly, I own, caused his Son to abdicate the Government for less Irregularities than was done by the Martyr, even before the end of his fifth Year's Reign.

And the Parliament of 40 found great additions of Irregularities committed by the Martyr, from *quinto Caroli*, to the 16th of *Caroli*; a few of which I shall only hint at, not at all to go about to justify the Acts that the 40 or 41 Parliament did.

First, his forcing on his Kingdom of *Scotland* the Liturgies of the *Church of England* against their Laws, by which means an Army was rais'd, and the Country oppress'd by free Quarter, and Martial-

Martial-Law set up, contrary to the known Laws of that Land ; the forceing Tunnage and Poundage to be paid, contrary to his own Laws, and his promises in Parliament, laying a Tax call'd Ship Money throughout the Kingdom, contrary to all Law, and imprisoning the Subjects for not paying, &c. setting up a Monopoly for Trade at his Pleasure, contrary to Law, going with an arm'd Force to the House of Commons, for to seize four or five of their Members he did not like ; deserting his Parliament ; giving out Commissions of Array to raise an Army against his Parliament ; and going to Oxford, making it a Garrison to protect such as follow'd him to his and the Nation's Destruction ; setting up his Standard at Nottingham against his Parliament ; entertaining all Papists and Cut-Throats in Power and Places under him, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, and many other Irregularities not to be mention'd ; besides his constant asserting to the Parliament, and all about him publicly and privately, he was accountable to none but God alone for any of his Actions. What, after such Assertions, and such Practices, could be expected from him ? Or, what indeed could he expect from the Nation, but to be immediately sent to that God he mention'd, to make up his Account.

Wherefore we leave him, and go on to make only some few Remarks upon his Son *Charles* the 2d. bred up, and after continu'd a secret *Papist* ; to pass over all the time of his Exile : Our wise *Presbyterians* they were mad for a King again, and they, as the Children of *Israel*, wou'd receive

ceive no Rest till he was restor'd; for a King they must have, tho' no King would have them; they were made believe that *Charles* the 2d. was at least one of them, having taken the Covenant at *Scone* in *Scotland* many Years ago, and he knew as well to counterfeit his Religion, as others had done before him, and so artfully did he manage it, that when some of the *Presbyterians* were sent over to invite him over to take the Crown, he, good Man, was at his extempore Prayers one Morning at *Breda*, in a Place near where the Messengers might hear him, which made one of those blind Souls cry out in an Extacy of Joy to his Brother near him; *O what a good King have we got, even a praying King.* Thus the poor *Presbyterians* were easily subdu'd, and all haste was made to bring him over to revenge his Father's Death.

King *Charles* the 2d. arriving at *Dover*, in *May* 1660, to the great Joy of Multitudes of Persons, besides the *Presbyterians*, and especially the Church Clergy, he, notwithstanding the extempore Prayers which made the *Presbyterians* so dote on him at *Breda*, was found the next Morning at *Mass* with his Priest he brought over with him from *Flanders*; the Discovery was made by the Major that had Command of the Guard for that Day, who came for Orders, and coming to the Door where he was, seeing a Curtain before it, only turn'd it back, and there had the Curiosity of seeing the Priest with his Majesty on his Knees, before an Altar there plac'd, which made the Major give back, and was too prudent a Man to let any Person know it, till some Years after.

However,

However, no sooner were things settled after his Majesty's coming over, but Care was taken, by way of Prevention, that a Law should be made wherein it should be a *Premunire* for any to say or write that the King was a *Papist*, and by this Law was his Safety, for tho' many knew, or at least suspected him to be a *Papist*, yet none dar'd own it; and the Clergy they were so far from suspecting him, at least they made the World believe it, that they ador'd him as a God, and call'd him the Darling of the Almighty, and the only Preserver of the Church of England, and always pray'd for him in these Words, *Next, and immediately under Thee and thy Christ, Supream Head and Governour*, tho' some of them well knew he always was a secret *Papist*, and died a profess'd one.

However, the poor Presbyterians at last found to their Sorrow, they were a little mistaken in their Saint; for no sooner was he settled, but he took care for them, that not one of them, or of any other Opinion, not coming up in every Point to the Episcopal Government, should be capable of any Living or Livelyhood in England, by the *Act of Uniformity*, commonly call'd the *Bartholomew Act*, and by that Act there was no less than two Thousand odd Hundred Ministers silenc'd in one Day, as if they had been naturally dead, and after Persecution rais'd against all the Ministers that had been so silenc'd. Thus were they rewarded for the Services they had done his Majesty.

But to hide his Religion, he made it his Business, all along till towards his latter End, to support the Church of England, and to court
it

it in the highest Manner, and to leave no Stone unturn'd, he endeavour'd to crush the Dissenters; and That made the Church so enamour'd with him, that they thought they could never do enough, tho' they might have seen by his Ways, and by the Notions he had, that his Religion was *Poper*y; yet so fond were they of this new King, while he would let them whip the Dissenters, that they never found the least Fault with him or his Religion; and so fond were our Church of him, that, had he liv'd a little longer, 'tis more than an even Wager, he might have introduc'd the *Papist* Religion into this Land, and made them believe it was their Church of *England*.

But King *Charles* the 2d. in his Exile abroad, had made large Promises to them, for the restoring this Nation to the *Romish* Superstition; and they abroad, especially the *Jesuits*, not thinking he went fast enough for to perform those Promises he had made, were still at his Elbow to help forward the *Papist* Cause; and King *Charles* had got such a Parliament for Youth and Easiness, that, had he been but as good a Husband as he was a *Papist*, he might have easily performed all his Ingagements without much Trouble; but the *Papists*, still after his Settlement, by the Assistance of our Church now establish'd, carried on their Designs both Abroad and at Home, with all imaginable Industry; and first of all, they thought it best to provide him with a *Papist* Queen, which was effected by his marrying the *Portugal* Lady, a Match altogether fit for the *Papist* Cause, but little for the Nations Interest, and 'twas suspected, that *Clarendon*, whose Daughter he had
now

now got married to the Duke of *York*, was privy thereto, and a Promoter of that Match with this *Portugal* Lady, who was not like to have any Children, by which Means his Daughter might, in Time, come to be Queen of *England*.

But be that so or not, no Children came by this Marriage, nor, indeed, any Good to the Nation; and all Things in *England* went on here to the *Papists* Content; the Dissenters prosecuted, and cut off from their Meetings and Conventicles; and a *Dutch* War contriv'd by the *Popish* Party, to weaken the Protestant Interest; and a new Alliance and Confederacy carried on with *France* and other *Popish* Nations, for the destroying the *Northern* Heresy.

But the first *Dutch* War, in his Time, not succeeding so well as the Court and Church wish'd, and the Plague raging in *London*, and a dreadful Fire happening there, 1666. a Peace was patch'd up for a Time.

Yet the *Popish* Intrigues were no less than before, for sometime after that War was ended, there was a closer Design carry'd on against the *Northern* Heresy, as they call'd it, than before; it was agreed between *France* and us, to engage other Nations in this Pious Work; and for the more secret carrying on the Design, the King's Sister, Wife of *Monseur* of *France*, is sent over here, under the Notion of a Visit to her Brother King *Charles* 2d, they meet at *Dover*, and there all's settled between the two Kings, for a close ingagement to fall upon the *Dutch*, and to destroy the Protestant Religion; the King after the agreeing all things with his Sister,

her, and too much Love and Familiarity with his Sister, as some believe, she never came forward, but went back again for *France*, having done what she came for, and, it was said, more than what her Errand was to do; and now, tho' in the last *Dutch Wars* the *French King* pretended to join with, and fight for the *Dutch*, yet now, all of a sudden he pours in an Army into the *Low-Countries* and *Holland*, and over-running all, while we by Sea make War on them at the same time, and send out *Offory*, the Father of *James Butler*, late Duke of *Ormond*, to seize their *Smyrna Fleet*, without declaring War against them.

This was the new way of War not known before in *England*, and scarce any Admiral, but such an easy Tool as *Offory* was, would have done so unjust an Act, or have accepted such a Commission in the Navy. Thus the 2d Quarrel began, and the *French* over-run almost all *Holland* in a Moment, as it were, and none to assist them; and when our Parliament met, as young as they were, and as forward as they had been to destroy the *Dissenters*, and to give all that was demanded of them; yet, they did not give that countenance to this War, as the Court and the Church expected; and, tho' there were many Pensioners among them, the King dares not trust them, for fear they should enquire into Publick Affairs; therefore, by the assistance of *Danby*, he was content to take Money as a Pensioner to *France*, rather than suffer them to sit.

There was now seen a general dislike of this War throughout the Nation, for the *French* were at

at the very Gates of *Amsterdam*, and like to get all from *Holland*; but *England* was to have nothing for assisting in this War, but to see the destroying their Brethren *Hereticks* there, and the *Northern Heresie* in *Europe*.

The two Brothers had this difference between them, tho' they both meant the same thing: The one, which was King *Charles*, he was for going fair and softly, and conceal his hatred to the Protestant Religion, and did not like to travel Abroad. Again, the Duke on the contrary was more Just and Honest; he would not conceal his Principles; and was for pushing on to accomplish what they both had promis'd abroad; the elder Brother was fearful of the Consequence of being too eager, he was for going his own way, which was to bring in *Pope-ry* by the Church, and to go the easiest way; and that was first, to make the People *Atheists*, and then they would easily be *Papists*; and sure, no Prince that ever sat on the Throne of *England* ever made so great a Progress in that Design of debauching the Nation, as he did in so short a time; but still all for the good of the Church.

The Duke of *York* seem'd to be uneasie at his Brother's sloath in the great Work they were engag'd in, which caus'd him to keep a closer Correspondency in *France* with the *Jesuits* there than was known, it may be, to his Brother: And God Almighty so order'd it, by his Providence, that the Profuseness and Debaucheries of King *Charles* the 2d, kept him so bare of Money, that he was not in a Condition to bring about the *Popish* Designs, without the help

help of his Parliament, or the *French King's* Assistance: But Sir, had he been as good a Husband as his Brother was, he might have done that which his Father the Martyr fail'd in.

And this ought further to be observ'd, how near the Nation was to have been in the same State with the *French King's* Subjects; that is, Slaves. In this time of King *Charles* the 2d. a Project was fram'd by the Court some small time after his Restoration, to give the King a Power upon any emergent Occasion, as they call'd it, for his Majesty to raise Money without a Parliament, and no doubt had such a Power been given, there wou'd never have wanted an emergent Occasion. This Project went so far, and was carried on so dexterously by the *High-Church* in managing this Affair, that a Bill was brought in to the House of Commons, and read the first time, and had certainly pass'd the House, had not the Chancellor *Hide* been prevail'd with by some *Englishmen* still left, to put a stop to it, by limiting the Bill only for some Months; and therefore the Nation was beholden to that Man for this Escape.

But not to digress further, but to return; The *French King's* Progress in *Holland*, made the Nation very uneasy, and even King *Charles* himself became not well pleas'd that *France* must get all and he none, and therefore he began to think of letting the Parliament Sit, for Money was wanting to fit out the Fleet another Year, and the *Dutch* were in no Case to withstand *France*, and the Money the *French King* allow'd him was not above 300000 *l.* a Year; the Parliament

liament were try'd to give Money for the War, but tho' they gave Money for his Majesty's Necessities, yet whatever they gave, they spoke nothing of the War, but rather Grumbings in the House against it, and seem'd rather to resent the War than encourage it.

The *Papists* abroad grew weary of King *Charles's* Delays, in not performing his Promise, by openly declaring himself for their Cause, and the secret Correspondency that was held in *England* for perfecting that Work, was now with the Duke of *York*, wholly by his Secretary *Mr. Coleman*; and it was suspected, that their Design was to get rid of King *Charles* as soon as they could, that the Duke might possess the Throne, who was as eager to have *Popery* settled in *England*, as the *French King* and his *Jesuits* were abroad.

The War against *Holland*, and the Success of the *French King* there, caused a great Mutiny, and *Dewit* an Adversary of the Prince of *Orange*, was barbarously torn in Pieces by the Mob there, and the Prince of *Orange* restor'd to the Stat-holder-ship there, as his Ancestor had been before, which began a little to alter the Face of Affairs there; and our Parliament at last taking into Consideration their Condition and our own, was rather for advising to make a Peace with *Holland*, than to give Money for that War.

At last the *French King* failing in his Pen-sions, and the Treasurer *Danby* not being able to manage the *French King* any longer, and the Prince of *Orange's* Interest growing much in *Holland*, and our Parliament being again

consulted, they advis'd a speedy Peace with the Dutch, and some time after a War with France to lower his Power.

The Correspondency with France, notwithstanding the Parliament Votes, is still carried on as before; and the Duke's Business was still to keep off the Sitting of the Parliament from time to time, for by this time, even this very pensionary Parliament which King Charles the 2d. had nursed up, began to grow sturdy and troublesome to the *popish* Affairs then carrying on with France.

At this time there was an Intrigue carrying on with Father *Le Chaise* the French King's Confessor and our Duke, by the Means of *Coleman* the Duke's Secretary, for the setting him on the Throne; and tho' King Charles the 2d. knew of all the rest of the Plots, yet was not privy to that; therefore when it came to be discover'd, tho' he knew all the rest to be true, yet could never be brought to believe the other till too late.

The War at last being ended, contrary to the Scheme of our Court that had been so firmly contriv'd as above, and the Prince of Orange by his Management with the Dutch for the obtaining this Peace, had obtain'd great Reputation in the World, a Match was propos'd and finish'd between the Princess Mary the Duke's Daughter, and his Highness the Prince of Orange, to the good liking of all the Protestants of England, but against the Duke's Mind; however done it was, and as some say by the Means of *Danby*, if so, it was the first and last good Act ever done by that Family.

In the Year 1678 when all things were almost brought to a Head by the Conspirators abroad as well as at home; of a sudden the *Popsb-Plot* was discover'd by one *Titus Oates*, who had been bred among the *Papists* at *St. Omers* and other Places, all Care was taken to Brow-beat him, and to stifle his Evidence, especially by *Danby*, &c. and had not the Murder of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* hapned, who had taken some Informations about it, which tended to a fuller Discovery, and the Prayers taken with the Duke's Secretary, *Coleman*, it had been almost impossible to have supported *Oates's* Evidence; but those Papers being taken, made it so evident, that there was no room to doubt of a secret Correspondence between the Duke and *France*, to the overthrowing our Religion and Laws.

Upon the Account of this Plot therefore some were executed, and the pensionary Parliament are so zealous for the Discovery of this Plot, that King *Charles* the 2d. to save himself and Brother, thought fit to dissolve them after about seventeen Years continuance, which after he sorely repented when 'twas too late, a new one being chosen, and they beginning where the pensionary Parliament left off, they searching into it, and the Grounds thereof, voted, *That the Duke being a Papist, and the Hopes of coming such to the Crown, was the Cause of this Plot and Conspiracy, for the destroying the Protestant Religion, and the the Laws of the Land, or to that Effect, which, Sir, you know very well; Wherefore this new Parliament, and two new ones after them, were*

for excluding the Duke from inheriting the Crown of *England*; but then as much as the Nation had been before alarm'd about the *Papish-Plot*, now the Church were as much alarm'd against this Bill brought into the House for to exclude the Duke, as the *Papists* themselves own'd; for say they, shou'd this Bill pass the Church is in Danger.

This was their Cry then throughout the Kingdom, and to stifle this Plot, and throw one upon the Dissenters and the *English* Gentlemen that were for this Bill to secure the Nation against *Popery*, was their chief Study, which in some Measure the *Papists* effected, by the help of our fine Church-men; and by their Means my Lord *Russel*, &c. who were the Promoters of this Bill, were barbarously murder'd by this *High-Church* Crew.

And now, Sir, the old Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience*, and *Non-resistance*, and *Hereditary-Right* is the Language of these Black-coats throughout the Kingdom; and no sooner was his Majesty King *Charles* the 2d. freed from his *Oxford* Parliament, but the persecuting the Dissenters for not coming to Church and taking the Sacrament is set on foot throughout the Kingdom, and their Goods seiz'd every where at a most shameful rate, while the *Papists* creep about and were as quiet as Lambs.

And now the Dissenters are punish'd all is safe, and the Church in no manner of Danger; but no sooner were their Hands ty'd from prosecuting the Dissenters, as we shall see anon, but the Cry is, the Church, the Church is in the greatest Danger.

It

It must not be expected, Sir, to go on in more Particulars of this King's Reign, or the rest that succeeded him or went before him; the Design of these Sheers being only to make some Remarks to shew the Stedfastness of all the *Stuarts* Race to the *popish* Interest, from their first entring *England*, till the Exit of the late Queen *Anne*, the last of that Race. Therefore to go on briefly.

In the Year 1684, King *Charles* the 2d. ended his Reign, whether fairly or not, is unknown; for some say, that before his sudden Death there was no good Understanding between him and his Brother, and that his Majesty was jealous of his Brother; but be that as it will, his Brother King *James* the 2d. is immediately proclaim'd, and the Church of *England*—men of all Sorts admire him as the best of Kings, and he is address'd to from all Parties, tho' he had let the World know before, he was no other than a down-right *Papist*, and so confess'd himself to be at his coming to the Crown, going publickly to the *Mass*, yet while he let alone their Church, he was the best King in the World.

One of the first things King *James* the 2d. did, was to declare to his Council, he would maintain the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd; this made him be cry'd up by the Black-coats for *James* the Just: But a very little time after his coming to the Crown, to shew them what his Brother King *Charles* the 2d's Religion was, whom those Black-coats had ador'd; he publish'd therefore his Papers found in his Strong-box after his Death, wherein he

own'd no Church, but the *Roman Catholick Church*.

But for what end King *James* should publish those Papers about his Brother King *Charles* the 1st's Religion, could not be imagin'd, unless it were to ridicule this *Always in the Right Church of England*, who were so easy to believe him a Protestant during his whole Reign.

The *Papists* having now a King zealous for their Cause, and he, as before is observed, making no Difficulty of owing the *popish* Religion, was Crown'd without taking all the Coronation Oath, or the Sacrament; and being so Crown'd, he by the *popish* Councils, of which Father *Peters* was chief in *England*, began to consider what Ways were most needful to be done to secure themselves and the *popish* Religion; but the great Rub in the Way was, the want of a Successor, in Case the King should die without Male Issue.

The King calls a Parliament, and they readily comply with giving him the Tax of Tunnage and Poundage, as his Brothe King *Charles* had it for Life, tho' in truth he took it as his Father did, before it was given him: But to let that pass, all things went smoothly on, and the *Always in the Right Church of England* as fond of him as ever. The Duke of *Monmouth* with *Argyle* in *Scotland*, made a fruitless Attempt for the Crown, and were both soon quell'd, and *Monmouth* taken, attainted, and beheaded; the Attainder pass'd both Houses and Royal Assent, all in one Day: And when that was over, King *James* having none to fear, having a
good

good Army, and the Church on his Side, who had all along, both in his time and in his Father's and Grandfather's time, told him of their entire *Passive-Obedience*, which he rely'd on to his Cost.

King James therefore began now to shew himself more than before, and told the Parliament then Sitting, that the Militia of the Kingdom was not to be trusted, nor to be rely'd on, and therefore demanded Money for the maintaining his Army, which then was at least 20000 Men.

This Speech of his began to shock his Parliament and the Nation so much, that they saw a little what they must trust to; and tho' the *Always in the Right Church* had much cry'd him up for James the just, yet now some few of those Black-coats began to be afraid of their Copyhold, for a standing Army few lik'd; And this exceeding Loyal Parliament, instead of granting Money to maintain a standing Army, they only order'd a Bill to be brought in to make the Militia more useful, which King James lik'd not by any Means.

Father Peters and the rest of his *popish* Councils about him, as well as from abroad, advis'd him to think speedily of reducing the Nation to the Mother Church, and to make some Beginning, in order to exert his Prerogative; and whereas the Laws now were in Force against the *Papists* as well as the *Dissenters*, it was a fit time for him to give ease to both, for that would bring to him more Friends, than it would create him Enemies; for the *Dissenters* to have their Ease from the Prosecution

they lay under, by the Contrivance of the *Always in the Right Church*, must of necessity be his Friends, for easing them of those Burdens, and by that Means the *Papists* would receive the Benefit; therefore 'twas resolv'd, that all Prosecutions for Non-conformity to the Church should be suspended, and moreover it was resolv'd, that any Person might or should enjoy any Place or Preferment, without taking the Sacramental Test, &c. and the penal Laws suspended: And such a Declaration being made, and some *popish* Persons put into *Magdalen College*, and some Judges and Officers made with a *Non-obstante* to the Laws, and the Bishops commanded to have the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, to be read in all the Parish Churches, and a high Commission Court set up: This soon open'd the Eyes of the *Always in the Right Church*, that they began to yawl and bellow like Mad-men throughout the Kingdom, even against their own Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-resistance*; and many of those Black-coats being now and then told of their former Doctrine in the late Reigns of King *James* the 1st. and *Charles* the 1st. and 2d. and even in his own, now tell him, their Obedience must be according to Law, and 'twas a legal Obedience they meant.

And indeed, some time before King *James* attempted to suspend the penal Laws, when he was advis'd by a Divine of the *Always in the Right Church*, that the Methods he was taking were very dangerous; Why, saith the King, who should I fear? Your Doctrine nor your Church can't oppose any thing I can do, for
you

you have always taught us, we may do any thing, and must be obey'd; But, Sir, says the Parson, I would not have your Majesty to rely upon that Doctrine, for fear it should deceive you.

It's now publickly talk'd in City and Country, that it was of absolute Necessity to have a Prince to succeed his Majesty, and so talk'd of and intended, as if it had been in human Power to effect it, and all things seem'd to be prepar'd for such a Birth, without which the *Jesuits* could not expect long to be safe; thereupon the Queen must by all Means go to the *Bath*, to prepare herself for her being with Child in due time; all this is done, and four Months after every Body's Mouth is fill'd with the great News of her Majesty being certainly with Child, and Wagers laid it was a Prince, and great Preparations made for this Birth, which was much taken notice of abroad as well as at home: It was indeed so order'd as if some Design was at the Bottom; for Princess *Ann* being at the *Bath*, who was so nearly related to the Crown, and no Body about the Queen but the *Papists*, in that time, being the 10th of *June*, a Prince is said to be born of the Queen, whereupon great Rejoycings and Fire-works were made at Court; yet things having been so manag'd, there were some Suspitions about this Birth, how reasonable or not is not my Business now to determine.

The *Papists* now having a Prince to be brought up in their Religion, esteem'd now the Day to be their own; however some thinking People, as well about the Court as elsewhere, had some
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Jealousies from their own indiscreet Management, that all was not right.

The Prince of *Orange* abroad being so nearly related to the Crown, both in his Right by the Lady *Mary* his Princess, and his own, after the two Sisters, the Daughters of King *James*, that they took some Umbrage thereat; and seeing nothing but utter Destruction was carrying on in *England*, to the Protestant Religion there, and the Liberties of *Europe* abroad by the *French* and *English* Papists, and not a few of the *English* Lords and Gentlemen, and some of the Top of our Clergy too was now in a Design with the Prince of *Orange* to look into these Matters.

Nay, the very *Passive-Obedience* Men themselves, were some of those that joyned with the Lords and others, for the calling over the Prince to help them against the King; and the States General being also alarm'd upon the Assurances they had of the Designs of King *James* with *France*; at last it was agreed by the States, to assist the Prince with so many Ships, and such a Force, as might be able to baffle the Designs then on Foot.

This was so secretly manag'd by the Prince and the States, that King *James*, for all he had his Ambassador at the *Hague*, knew nothing of the Matter; and the first News the King had of the Design of the Prince making him a Visit in *England*, was from his Brother of *France*, but for some time King *James* believ'd it not; and he with his *Jesuits* about him, having now got a Prince, and an Army of near 30000 Men, were resolv'd to push on their Designs,
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and hop'd by the calling a new Parliament and cloſing the Members, and ſending to the Corporations ſome of the weaker Sort of *Dissenters* to poſſeſs the People, that Liberty of Conſcience was the only thing the King aim'd at, therefore thoſe Meſſengers had in Charge to get ſuch Men choſe as were for the repealing the penal Laws and Teſt, &c.

But theſe Devices were ſoon ſeen through, and that the *Dissenters* were only made uſe of as Tools, or as Scaffolding for the eaſier carrying on the Building, and when the Building was finiſh'd which the *Papiſts* were carrying on as faſt as they could, there would then be no occaſion for the Scaffolds: But,

Sir, there was one thing more that frightened our *Always in the Right Church*, and made them ſpew up their nonſenſical Doctrine of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*, and that was the Folly of the *Papiſts*, who would not let the King alone till he had ſent Seven of the Biſhops to the Tower, for only petitioning him againſt the reading his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; and after thoſe Seven were acquitted by a Jury on their Trials, which was very pleaſing to the Church: This Act of the King's; and impoſing Members on *Magdalen College*, had ſo much Weight in it, now it touch'd their Copy-hold, that the Cry now among the Black-coats was, Fire, Fire, we are all undone, and ſome of thoſe very Biſhops of this Church, were in the Deſign of bringing over the Prince.

Well, but at laſt the King had ſuch eminent Proofs of the Preparations making in *Holland*, as well from *Holland* as *France*, that 'twas no longer

longer doubted ; and upon this Alarm no small Consternation was at Court ; the King sent to advise with some of his Bishops what he should do, and propos'd to them a Fast, but now they told him, that they fear'd if his Majesty should call a Fast, the Nation would scarce regard it ; then he propos'd to have it on a *Sunday*, as to that he was told *Sunday* was altogether an improper Day, being itself rather a Festival or Day of rejoycing, than a Fast, which made his Majesty say, *What, will you neither Fast nor Pray with me at all.*

The Charter of the City of *London* having been ravag'd from them some time before, now to screen them and the Nation, a Release of that unjust Judgment is sent down in State to the City, brought by the Chancellor *Jefferies*, but the City receiv'd it very coolly: It was then thought necessary to establish on Record the Birth of the young Prince, and to prove him born from the Queen's Body, and the Depositions of such as were about the Queen at that Birth, to have them enroll'd in *Chancery*, which was done, and the Army which consisted of near 30000 as brave Men as ever could be seen, to get ready and to draw towards the *North*, &c.

The King himself was so much affrighten'd, that he sets up a Weather-cock at *White-Hall* to shew him continually which way the Wind stood, and superseded the Writs he had caused to be seal'd for his new intended Parliament ; and now the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration begins to appear, wherein he, among other things, complains of the Danger of *Popery*, and the Laws
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of the Land are invaded, and as to the Birth of the new Prince, was content to leave all to a full and free Parliament.

The Prince, in *November* 1688, Lands in the *West*, with about 13 or 14000 Men, tho' reported double the Number; the King he Marches to *Salisbury* with his Army at least double that Number, to meet the Prince; when he came there, the chief of his Officers and Soldiers desert him and go over to the Prince, some one Day, some another, and even those very Men he had raised from their Youth, which shall not be named, and at last the Prince of *Denmark* himself deserts, who went with the King, and the Princess *Ann* left the Court, and she also flies away with the then Bishop of *London*, leaving a Letter behind her for the Queen, shewing her Reasons for deserting her Father.

Thus the King being deserted, I had almost said betray'd by those Church-men as he had put most Confidence in in his Army, he is now forc'd to come back to *London*, without facing the Prince, and the Prince drawing nearer to *London*, and little or no Opposition; the King having sent away his Queen and the Young Child, whom they called Prince of *Wales*, in a few Days after flies towards the Sea, in order to go for *France* in a Disguise; his hasty going away rais'd a mighty Consternation in City and Country, and that Day some Lords with the Bishop of *Canterbury* came to the City to consult what was fit to be done for the publick Safety, his Grace, with the rest, thought fit to seize the *Tower*, to turn out King *James's* Gover-

Governour, which was one *Hales*, a *Papist*, and to put in his Place my Lord *Cornwall*, which was done.

Thus we see the Arch-bishop *Sancroft* himself, the chief Man for seizing the King's Fort and Garrison, which, as the Law then stood, was the deepest Treason against the King, yet we shall find by and by how this Arch-bishop manag'd himself, with some of the rest of his Brethren that had been committed to the Tower about the aforesaid Petition.

King *James* being fled, was unfortunately stop'd by the way in *Kent*, and is again return'd to *White-Hall*; some few Days after a Message is sent him from the Prince by some *English* Lords, that he must withdraw from thence where he pleas'd, till Matters could be settled for the Preservation of the Nation, and the Prince's Guards order'd to attend him; the King goes for *Kent*, and watching an Opportunity, gets to Sea, and arriv'd safe in *France*, where he liv'd always after, (except his fruitless Attempt he made on *Ireland*,) and ended his Days. Thus was there a miraculous Deliverance once more for *England*, and indeed for all the Protestant Party in *Europe*, obtain'd through the Goodness of God, without scarce any Blood shed, and a total Revolution scarce to be imagin'd, to the Amazement of our Neighbours abroad, who had been plotting our Destruction so long.

Thus, Sir, I have made some short Remarks, and Observations on this unhappy Prince, who was so unhappy as to be bred in the *Romish* Superstition, and so easily led away by the *Papists*,

pists, and our *Always in the Right Churchmen*, whose Doctrine and Preaching deceiv'd him, as well as his Progenitors ; and sure, ought to be a warning for all Princes and States, ever to trust those kind of Cattel that have done, and still will do any thing to support their Pride and Luxury, as we shall see more hereafter in the remaining part of these Sheets.

But to proceed, King *James* was unwilling to stand the Test of a Parliament, therefore deserted the Kingdom, the Prince then being safely arriv'd at *St. James's*, and all in his Power, yet took no Advantage ; but according to his Declaration against *Papery* and *Slavery*, he Summon'd all the Members of both Houses of the last Parliament that were near, to consult for the settling the Nation : They met accordingly, and unanimously agreed to address the Prince to take upon him the Administration of the Government Civil and Military, and issue out his Order for the speedy calling a Convention of all the Estates of the Kingdom. And whereas divers Counties had Sheriffs put on them that were *Papists*, and were not qualify'd to act according to Law, the same Orders or Writs were sent to the Coroners of each County, to elect such Members in the same form as was usual for electing Members to serve in Parliament, which Elections were made throughout the Kingdom in Peace and Quietness.

This Convention met accordingly in form as Parliaments do, and after both Houses having taken the Oaths according to Law, they fell upon the state of the Nation ; the *House of Commons*

Commons after long Debate, came to a Resolution to this Purpose, viz. *That King James the 2d being a Papist, and coming such to the Crown, and being seduc'd by Evil Counsellors, and corrupt Judges, had broken the original Contract, and having abdicated the Government, the Throne was thereby become Vacant.*

Now began to appear the old Spirit of the *Always in the Right Church*: For, no sooner was it noised about the Town, that the Nation would chuse a King to fill up the Throne; but the black Coats, and their Parties, in both Houses, began to stand aloof off, for they intended nothing but a Regency, and a Regent as would let them be always Masters, or at least Counsellors, as they had been in the three last Reigns; and now began to shew themselves as bitter Enemies to the Prince of Orange, as they had been Friends before to invite him, to come over to their assistance; therefore great Debates arose in the House of Lords against the Vote of the Commons, the *Finches* and all their Party were very strenuous in opposing the Words, *The Vacancy of the Throne, and the Abdication.*

At last they agreed wholly with the Commons, and the next step was filling the Throne, which was immediately done; the Prince of Orange and Princess Mary to fill the Throne as King and Queen of *Great Britain, &c.* which no ways satisfy'd the Clergy, as they call'd themselves, tho' they had been as forward in sending King James away, as the rest of the Nation; but their Design was no other, but as before,

fore, to give the Prince half a Crown, and send him packing back again.

From this time, and ever after, the *Church Party*, as they call'd themselves, studied all ways imaginable to make King *William's* Reign uneasy; and some of the *Whigs*, as you know, Sir, being disgusted that they were not all provided for, with Places and Preferments as they expected, always join'd in with those Churchmen; and it was from these *Whigs*, such as the *Harley's*, *Foley's*, and the *Winningtons* in the *House of Commons*, that so many rubbs were laid in King *William's* Reign, that it was almost impossible for him to manage the War against the *French King*, which soon follow'd.

For, whatever the *Papists* and the *High-Church* contriv'd, under the Notion of *Liberty* and *Property*, which was the Cue given out, before these *Whigs*, with the assistance of *Seymore*, and his Party in the *House of Commons*, they always struck in with them; And it was to those *Whigs* and their Intrigues, that hinder'd all the good Designs of King *William*, for the good of the Nation. And,

It having been hinted by his Majesty, in one of his Speeches, that he hop'd they would let him have the use of all his *Protestant Subjects*: The *Church* were so alarm'd, that the *Dissenters* should be at ease as to the Shackles upon them, by the *Penal Laws* being taken off from them, that now they oppose it with all their *Might*, and every thing else that tended to the Punishment of those that had been the Cause of King *James's* violating the *Laws*; so that not one of those wicked Counsellors, and corrupt Judges,

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receiv'd the least Punishment, but all fell upon King *James* only, to the eternal Reproach and Shame of the Nation.

King *William* being much a Stranger here, and having so many of these Church and false Traytors about him, made him believe that the *Dissenters* were but an inconsiderable Number, and their Principles were against Monarchy; that the Churchmen were only those that could support him, being so great a Number, that he would find it his Interest wholly to rely on them: The King having about him, *Danby*, the *Finches*, and the *Seymores*, &c. and such like, put most of those Sort of Creatures into all Posts whatever, and very few of those that were really true to the Constitution: So all things went heavily on till towards the latter end of his Reign; for by the delaying his Supplies, and insufficient Funds given him, which was the Art of the *High-Church* and some of the *Whigs* above mention'd in the House of Commons, the Wheels of his Government were always clogg'd and cramp'd, both in the Field abroad, as well as at home, and thereby he was put upon the greatest Difficulties that could be, all along the *French War*, and all the Mischief this Nation has since felt, must be laid at those Villains Doors, who went by the Name of *Whigs*, as before hinted.

Insomuch, that at the Beginning of his Reign, when it was endeavour'd but to make some Examples of those that had deliver'd up Charters in King *James's* time, which had been the Foundation laid for the altering the Constitution, and when a Bill was brought into the House,

for

for only suspending such, for a small time, who had been Actors therein; yet those very *Whigs* before mention'd, joyning with the *Tory* Party, upon the Division of the House, lost it by two or three Votes: So now all is acquitted that was done, but poor King *James*, who was only led away, as the Vote mention'd, by evil Counsellors, but none were punish'd but him; and after an Act of Indemnity is pass'd, and not one of those evil Councils excepted, so they rid triumphant, and so far from any one being punish'd, that some of the Persons King *James* imploy'd to help forward his dispensing Power of the Laws, and introducing *Popery*, are again imploy'd as Servants to King *William*; nay, even Sir *Thomas Powis*, who was once flying for the same, is made one of the King's Council, and some of the chief Actors for King *James*, are made no less than Secretaries of State; and had but *Jefferies* been patient, and not made away with himself by drinking, it was an even Wager, but he had been again Lord Chancellor to King *William*.

Thus were the Wheels loaded during the War with *France*, and this put the King upon a Necessity of receiving such a Peace from *France*, as he would offer at *Reswick*, wherein the Power of *France* was left so great, that it was almost impossible to hinder him of making himself sole Master of *Europe*; for no sooner was this War ended, but the *Whigs* aforesaid, as well as the *Tories* in the House of Commons, were so restless for having the Nation naked, that they forc'd him to disband all his Army immediately, while *France* had not less than 2

or 300000 Men on Foot, braving us on the Coast.

The King, at last, saw all this with Grief, and endeavour'd to change his Hands, but found the *Tory* Party, with those above, joyn'd in the intended Ruin of the Nation, yet he forgot not the further Safety of *England*; and had he had but as much Courage in the Cabinet as in the Field, he had soon got rid of those Obstacles that lay in his Way: However, after this Peace, and the *French* possessing him with the *Spanish* Monarchy for his Grandson, and the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he took no small Pains for the laying a future Foundation for us, which he perfected, and for which the Children unborn will bless his Memory, and has indeed prov'd a second Deliverance wrought out by him, under God, and that was getting the Succession of the Crown to be settled in the Protestant Line of the Princess *Sophia* of *Hanover*, which he with Difficulty effected, the Effects of which is the Happiness we enjoy under King *GEORGE* at this Day.

King *William* also finding the Power of *France* swelling so high, by Means of his Grandson's possessing himself of *Spain*, and his vast Army near us, he, out of his Zeal for this Nations good, and the repose of *Europe*, lost no time, but fram'd and made such Alliances with the Emperor, the States, &c. as might in all Probability, be a means to restore *Spain* to the Emperor, and Safety to *Europe*, which Foundation he had effected, had it not been for the Villany acted after by Queen *Ann's* Ministers,

sters, who were very industrious to hinder that project from taking Effect.

King *William*, however, having made those Confederacies, and laid the Scheme for effecting it, in spite of all Opposition, and finding himself decaying by Means of a Fall; he before his Death, even near the last Moment of his Life, was intent upon securing the aforesaid *Hanover* Succession, which he shew'd in signing a Commission for the Act for abjuring the *Pretender*, and establishing the Protestant Line, the Day or two before he dy'd.

And this must be further noted, that from the time of his coming to the Crown, to the Day of his Death, that thing which they call the Church, but more properly the Black-coats, became, to the Expiration of his Days, his most inveterate Enemies, tho' many in their Coats had been the chief Persons that invited the King over, and thereby brought about the Revolution, as before mention'd; and even those very Men, the *Non-jurors*, as *Sancroft* and others, who were the first in the Undertaking against King *James*, which was High-Treason, had it not succeeded, yet now became so tender Conscienc'd, as to oppose every thing that might keep King *James* from coming again, and hindering his suppos'd Son from being brought in again, to revenge his Father's Hatred against the Nation.

Thus we see their Religion and their Sincerity; and what Man must he be, that can put his trust in such crooked Staves: For, during all the time of King *William's* Reign, their cry

for *High-Church* never ceas'd, but the Danger of the *Church* was always in their Mouths, instead of their Cry in the four last Reigns, viz. all Obedience was due to the King without reserve.

King *William* being dead, the Princess *Anne*, 2d Daughter of King *James* the 2d, according to the Act of Settlement of the Crown in King *William's* time, was proclaim'd Queen, and for some time, even until the Death of her Spouse Prince *George* of *Denmark*, follow'd very much the Schemes King *William* had left her, as to the War with *France*, and carrying it on against him; and confirm'd, and made new Alliances for the restoring the Kingdom of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*.

The always in the *Right Church*, which the Queen was very much devoted to till near her Exit; they, to curry Favour with her, according to their wonted course, began from her very first Accession to the Throne to insinuate to her, and buz it in her Ears, that now she was a more lawful Queen than the late King; for she had that of *Hereditary Right*, and came not to the Crown by Vertue of the Act of Parliament, which was the greatest falsity imaginable.

However, being but a Woman, and much wedded to a *Church*, she began to incourage all such Discourses, and to flatter herself with having a better Title than King *William* had.

Nevertheless, for the first part of her Reign, she prosper'd against her Enemies, and had no small Renown abroad, insomuch, that the now Emperour himself acknowledg'd her as the Instrument for fixing him in *Catalonia*, and giving him

him such Supports and Assistance, as made him near the obtaining the whole Kingdom of Spain.

The *French* grow now very uneasy; and after the many Successes she had by the Valour and Conduct of her General the Duke of *Marlborough*; and the Death of the Prince of *Denmark*, who kept the Queen stedfast to the Confederates, and to her own Interest; but he being dead, the *French* King found a way to ingratiate himself among some of the nearest about her Majesty; and knowing the Interest the Duke of *Marlborough* had both at Court and Abroad, which by his singular Conduct he had acquir'd, he therefore made it his Business to have it buz'd in the Ear of the Queen, after the *French's* Invasion into *Scotland*, That *Marlborough* both rul'd her and the Nation, which Insinuations so far, at last, prevail'd upon her Weakness, that she began to be Jealous of the Duke and his Lady, and this was contriv'd and brought about by Mr. *Harley*, and a Gentlewoman of a very mean Extraction, introduc'd at first as a Servant to the Dutchess.

Mr. *Harley* had by this time been suspected of a Corresponding with *France*, while Secretary of State, insomuch that all our Councils were suspected to be betray'd as well abroad as at home.

The Duke uneasy thereat made his Complaint, and it was found to be too true, that if Mr. *Harley* himself was not in the Fact of secret Intelligences with *France*, yet his Clerk *Gregg* was so; so that the Duke resolv'd never more to sit in Council while Mr. *Harley* remain'd

there; *Harley* is therefore remov'd, and out of Respect to him, several more about her Majesty, as *Harcourt*, &c. laid down their Places in Honour to him.

And from this time the Queen, howsoever she carry'd it, was very uneasie as to the Duke and Dutchess, and Mr. *Harley*, by the Means of the Gentlewoman mention'd, a Scheme was contriv'd for the displacing the Dutchess, which was done.

The Duke is still continu'd for another Campaign, fore against the Queen's Mind, but it was too soon yet to shew herself; Mr. *Harley's* Contrivances were not yet ripe to be open'd. The Duke this Campaign strikes a Terrour to the French King, and in all probability, had the Duke made one Campaign more, he must have been at the Walls of *Paris*.

The French is now at Work, as a Mole under Ground, in our Court, and his Emissaries with our Church, and the Papists are heard every where to cry out against this long War, and the Charge and Bloodshed expended therein, for the better, and more secret carrying on the Negotiations with France by Mr. *Harley*, and others the Conspirators, and a great Divine much in esteem with her Majesty, even no less a Person than one call'd his Grace of York, had possess'd her Majesty with the injustice of this War, and the intent of it for to support the Dutch, &c. only in opposition to the Pretender; and that her Majesty would do well to consider the Injustice done to the Pretender, in case he really was her Father's Son, which her Majesty must know better than others that were his Enemies.

That

That if he were the Son of King *James*, and she believ'd it so, 'twas a great Sin in her longer to keep him out of his Right, at least, if he were content, her Majesty should enjoy it during her Life, he ought not to be put by after her Death, &c.

With this Discourse from his Grace, her Majesty is much wrought upon: But to accomplish this, and to get the Duke of *Marlborough* out of his Power, was the first thing to be done; and for the easing her Majesty's Mind, as to the Bloody War, Mr. *Harley* having by that Gentlewoman fully known her Majesty's Mind, as to a Peace with *France* on any Terms, and a new Alliance with *France* intended, he suited himself accordingly, it being always his Principle to shape himself as may best serve his Interest.

France insisted it was impossible for a Peace to be had while the Queen's General went on with the *Dutch* in their Conquest beyond-Sea, and there could be no hopes of any good to *France*, whatever was pretended by our Emissaries, sent over privately to *France* to Negotiate a Peace, till some stop was put to the Progress in the War; therefore, the Instruments sent from *France* hither, privately told Mr. *Harley*, &c. That without delay, before another Campaign, the Queen must lay aside her General, and alter her Ministers at Court, that stood in the way of her Majesty's good Intentions for a Peace.

The French Emissaries sent here, was the Abbot *Gaultier*, and ours was *Prior* and *Arthur Moore*, the one had been a Footman, and the

the other a Drawer in *Channel-Row*; these Tools were the Agitators of this intended Peace. And,

The Clergy, after their Neglect for some time of their *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* Doctrine, they are now again not only crying out against the chargeable War, but the same Doctrine is again set on foot as eager as ever, and Dr. *Sacheverel*, among others, was thundering out Fire and Faggot against all the *Dissenters*, and such as favour'd the Laws and Liberties of the Nation; for which Sermons, being impeach'd afterward was found Guilty; but so small a Punishment was inflicted, that it rather lifted him and his Party up, than cast them down. The Queen hearing that Tryal, and the Doctor cunningly to shew his Zeal and Loyalty to the Queen, dropping a Word with Design for her Majesty's Pity, mention'd the vast Loss the Queen and the Nation had by the Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, which, as some say, drew Tears from her Eyes.

This moderate Sentence, and the extream Care the *Tories* fancy'd the Queen had for Doctor *Sacheverel's* Doctrine, being by *Harley*, and others, put upon to cause Addreses to her Majesty throughout the Kingdom, set about on purpose by *Harley* and his Creatures, to prepare the People for all the Designs that were then carrying on with *France*, against the Interest of the Nation: and such fulsome Addreses were made, as had been heretofore in King *Charles's* and King *James's* time.

But now the Parliament being gone, and the Campaign ended, and Mr. *Harley* in the Management

nagement of all the great Affairs, the Duke comes over, and her Majesty receives him at first very well, but a little reserv'd : Soon after a Messenger was sent to him that her Majesty had no more occasion for his Service ; this was told us from *France* about a Year before, that the Duke would be out of all Favour before the next Campaign.

But it must not be forgot, That before this open view of our Favours to *France* in their Extremity, and the declaring against the Duke, our *Always in the Right Church* had not forgot to cramp the Liberties of the People, according to their wonted Kindness to the *Dissenters*, prevail'd with both Houses, for the safety of their Church, to pass the Act against *Occasional Conformity*, tho' her Majesty had all along assured the *Dissenters* of inviolably observing the Act of *Tolleration*, pass'd in King *William's* time ; and which Act of *Occasional Conformity*, had been thrown out twice before. But at last, when the Scene began to open, it pass'd both Houses with great Silence ; this Contrivance of the *Always in the Right Church*, tho' not infallible as their Sister the *Church of Rome*, did do them some Service, but yet not reach'd what they design'd, which was the taking away the Rights of the *Dissenter's* Votes in all Elections, which the Tool *Bromley* in the *House of Commons* afterward had no more Wit, than to own in the House, was their real Design, when they had brought in their *Schism Bill*, to hinder all Persons from teaching Children A, B, and C, which did not conform to their *Church* ; this Bill also they got to pass with some few Amendments,
for

for now the Tide was quite turn'd, and none in Favour but such as were for the *French* Interest, and against the Duke and our Allies, and the very Treaties with them made, for the Preservation of our Act of Settlement of the Crown, was complain'd of in the *House of Commons*.

And now the *French* Invasion some Years before, with the *Pretender* on Board is all forgot; and he that looks not upon the *French* at our Court as Friends, is an Enemy to the Queen's Peace, which began to be talk'd of already.

But now the Parliament being gone again, and for the Service of the *French* King, all those Ministers that had rais'd the Reputation of the *English* Nation abroad by their steady Management, notwithstanding the Queen's Promises being all laid aside, Mr. *Harley*, *Harcourt*, &c. and all those in the *French* Interest are in their Places, and such, that had King *Lewis* himself chose them, or the *Pretender* there, could not have been chosen fitter Men in *England* for their Service.

And to make this appear, to fill up the Place of a General of our Forces abroad, the Duke of *Ormond* is pitch'd upon to be General; a more worthless, or insignificant Tool could scarce have been thought of in the Kingdom, nor had he ever any thing to be valu'd for, unless his being an easie Man, and always a courting the Rascally sort of Mob at the Charge of his Creditors, to cry *an Ormond*, *an Ormond*, and profuse Liberality to his Seraglio of Whores.

However,

However, this Pacifick General is preparing himself for his Voyage; but before he went, was Closeted to know his Sentiments concerning *Passive Obedience* to any thing the Queen should order; for, that he having been so favour'd by the late King *William*, they did not know but he might reserve some sparks of Generosity to his former Benefactor; but the Queen having full Satisfaction that he might be depended upon to obey all Orders without reserve; away he goes, tho' at the very same time there was a close Treaty carry'd on at *Paris* and *England*, and a Cessation of Arms without the least Knowledge or Participation of our Confederates, but strongly suspected by our Allies, and indeed, the thing as good as agreed on before this Pacifick General went, as appear'd afterwards:

For, sometime before this General's going to *Holland*, the Queen gave Notice to the States, that she had Overtures of Peace made to her by *France*, such as she thought to be sufficient Ground and Preliminaries for a Foundation to treat with *France*; but would do nothing but in concert with them, and the rest of her Allies, and then press'd them, and many times after to appoint Persons to treat with *France*, together with such as the Queen should empower.

This mightily startled the States and all the Confederates, that the Foundations of a Treaty should be laid between her Majesty and *France*, and none of the Confederates know any thing of the matter, or the Terms the Queen went upon, which made the States and others give in very Pathetick Memorials here, but

but all to no Purpose ; for a Treaty must be had, a Place appointed, and Plenipotentiaries nam'd by us, and the States threaten'd if they did not do the same forthwith, which was done accordingly, and the Plenipotentiaries gone before the Pacifick General arrives.

The new General arriving in *Holland*, had Orders to tell the States, however, that the Queen was resolv'd to prosecute the War with the utmost Severity, till such a Peace was had, as should give Satisfaction to all her Allies, when nothing less was intended, and so it happen'd ; and was intended to give the *French* whatever he pleas'd, and leave the Confederates in the Lurch, and the Kingdom of *Spain* in the *French* Hands, and all our Trade and Liberties at his Mercy. In order to this, an Agreement was made, that our General should not fight, but withdraw from the Army, and leave the rest of the Confederate Army to be cut off by the *French*, and therefore all the Confederates must accept of such a Peace as the *French* King would allow them ; which, to be short, was the issue of our War : For, such a shameful Peace was made, that took not only all from the Confederates, contrary to solemn Engagements with them, but even all our own Trade and Security, which we and the Confederates had fought for, to the eternal Infamy of all those that transacted that Shameful and Villainous Peace ; which, at the Bottom in *England*, as well as Abroad, could have no other Design as we shall see anon, but the forcing the *Protender* upon us, and destroying the Settlement on the House of *Hanover* ; but the Peace being made,
or

or rather forced on the *Dutch* and us, we must leave it at present, and not go on to the several Particulars; and the Arts that were us'd by *Harley*, &c. for the obtaining that cursed Peace, nor the Particulars of the *Pacifick* General's corresponding with the *French* General, for the betraying the rest of the Confederate Army, after he had deserted them; nor his seizing the Towns in *Flanders* without Orders, according to his own Conduct by him publish'd since. But to go on to what follow'd this Peace:

The Black-coats upon the first concluding of it, always ready to rejoyce at any Mischief to the general good of the Nation, tho' never backward to do Evil; they, I say, as well as *Harley's* Parliament, before they knew what this Peace was, made it their great Care, both to thank her Majesty for this Peace, and promoting Addresses throughout the Kingdom for it, with the highest Encomiums imaginable, both to the Queen and her Peace-makers, reviling all those not for it, as Persons delighting in War, and thereby as much as might be casting an Odium upon the Duke of *Marlborough* for his good Service, who beat all he fought with; and which was the greatest Crime they had to revile him for; but notwithstanding that they gave out, yet the Duke's Name and Fame for the Service he did the Nation will last, when the Name and Fame of those Wretches that contrived that shameful Peace, will rot and be a blot upon their Posterity for ever.

When this Peace came to be looked into, tho' Thanks had been made as above, and tho' this very Parliament as to the Commons, was filled
 with

with the Creatures of the Peace-makers, which cost no small Sum out of Her Majesties Treasury to elect them; yet this Parliament, when they saw it, refused to consent thereto, but rejected the Commerce Bill that was intended to have passed in Parliament.

And this was not all, for tho' the Ground-work for a Peace was the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, which the Nation was told was to be done as a certain Foundation of the Peace; yet even that very Thing was not complied with, as it ought, to this Day: But instead of demolishing it, as the Peace-makers gave out was done, or should be done; the same continues to this Day unstopped up, and by what *France* is now acting under the Name of *Mardike* will be, or may be made a better Harbour than ever it was before that villanous Peace.

But now his Grace's of *York*'s Application to her Majesty about the *Pretender*'s Right, and the *French King*'s Interest calls for a farther Progress to be made for the *Pretender*; the Vizard begins to be pulled off, and Writings and Books are published every Day of Indefeizable Hereditary Right, and the Settlement of the Crown upon the House of *Hanover* even vilified, and the Banishment of the *Pretender* went no farther than to remove him from *Paris* to *Bar-le-Duc*; where he was, as well to carry on his Designs at *Paris* as before; and it came to be known afterwards, that notwithstanding the several Addresses about him from the Lords House, yet he was by the Consent of our Queen to remain there.

And now it appear'd, that tho' *Oxford* had told the House of Lords before the Peace proclaimed,

claimed, that there was none but Villains, &c. that would think of a Peace without the consent of the Allies; yet it appear'd plainly, that he was the Villain that asserted such a thing for the *Emperour*, and others would never come into that Peace to this Day, but continu'd the War alone for another Year, and at last got better Terms from *France*, than we had intended for the *Emperour*, notwithstanding our Alliance with him.

The Queen at ease as to the Peace with her Brother of *France*, had leisure to consider further of his Grace's Council about her suppos'd Brother the *Pretender*; and so much was the Queen wrought upon, in point of Conscience, that she became privately reconcil'd to her suppos'd Brother, and wholly in his Interest, if not his Church, which was known to many about her, tho' it may be, was not communicated yet to *Oxford*, whom no Body could trust, having been found even to the Queen herself, false, which might be the Reason he was not Privy to that part of her Majesty's Intentions, of yielding up her Right to the *Pretender* while she liv'd.

The *Pretender* however lost no time at *Bar-le-duc* in raising Forces, and enlisting Men for his Service under pretence of Service for the Duke of *Lorraine*; and the *French* Ambassador the Duke de *Aumont* being now here, the secret Correspondences between the Queen and the *Pretender* were brought to such a pitch, that it was well known beyond-Sea, as well as by some here, that there was a perfect right understanding between our Queen and the *Pretender*.

der, and wanted nothing but a little time to put it in execution, which appear'd afterwards too plain, by the Pretender's Declaration.

These Intrigues however secretly carried on, came to be known at *Hanover* more plain than here, in so much that the Princess *Sophia* not without just and reasonable ground, knowing what had been transacted here and in *France* for the Pretender, order'd her Resident to demand of the Chancellor *Harcourt* a Writ to Parliament for her Grandson the Duke of *Cambridge* in order to come over, and take his Seat in Parliament.

This Demand was not totally deny'd, but the Chancellor delay'd it till the Queen and Council was advis'd with it; the Queen is much alarm'd thereat, immediately sends to *Hanover* her Letter to the Electress, and to the then Elector our Gracious King, and complains of this demand of the Resident, &c.

France and the Pretender are no less alarm'd; and the first News we heard was, from thence, that the Queen during her Life time would not have any of the *Hanover* Family come over here by no Means whatsoever, for that would quite spoil the Scheme already laid for the Pretender, who was expected hither with a Powerful Army, or a more easier way of taking the Possession.

In order to which, all Places in the Army, &c. are secured to be in the Hands of such as could be trusted with the secret Affairs then transacting, and a general modeling of the Army was carried on throughout the Kingdom, and

and my Lord *Anglesey* sent over to do the like in *Ireland*, tho' he came too late.

The Queen having some Symptoms of not being like to live long, *Franck Scammony*, who was in the Intrigue for the peaceable bringing in the Pretender, advised to do what had been agreed on between *France* and us without the least Delay, for while her Majesty liv'd, it would be Treason and Rebellion to do any Thing without her Authority, and if she was willing to yield up her Right to the Pretender, the best Way was to make no Delay, but let her Majesty go for her Health's sake into *France*, and by her Appointment to let the Pretender take by her Order the Charge, the King of *France* was ready with an Army to back this Design, and whom should they fear, being once in Possession.

While these Debates were in Agitation, her Majesty is struck with Sickneſs, and unlook'd for Death, the first of *August*, 1714. to the confounding of the Conspirators, and the Amazement of the Nation.

Thus once more God shewed himself manifestly for the Preservation of the Nation, when all was ready to be put in Execution, which had been so long a contriving by the Conspirators; *Franck Scammony*, *Bolinbroke*, &c. were in no small Rage at this Stroke from Heaven.

And *Scammony* with one or two of the Conspirators, swore by their Maker, they must go on notwithstanding this Disappointment, but the rest, not so rash, were for submitting to the Law for the settling the Succession, therefore the same Day the Council met, and immediately

ly proclaim'd King GEORGE with great Solemnity, the next Heir of the Princess *Sophia* lately then deceas'd; whom God long preserve: Thus ended the *Stuarts* Race, to the great Joy of *Britain*.

But tho' this was such a Thunderbolt sent from Heaven on the *Jacobites*, and knowing Men believ'd there was an End put to their Cause, and that *Toryism* would never rise more; yet it began to shew itself before his Majesty's Arrival, and *Oxford* with the rest had contriv'd to meet his Majesty at his Landing, and to shew themselves in a Body to his Majesty, as might make the King see and believe their Interest in the Nation was rather to be fear'd than despis'd.

They accordingly that were Queen *Ann's* Privy-Counsellours and Servants appear in a Body at his Landing, and *Oxford*, notwithstanding his double-dealing upon all Accounts, appeared with the rest, and was so presumptive as to tell some better than himself, that he would introduce them to his Majesty.

But the King knew them all too well to give them the least Countenance, which made them droop, and seeing the King gave them not such a Reception as they vainly expected, *Ormond*, *Oxford*, *Bolinbroke*, &c. agreed with *Frank Scammony's* Measures to endeavour to force his Majesty to favour them and their Party, or else bid him open Defiance, and fly in his Face on all Occasions, which accordingly they do to this Day, as we shall find by and by.

Bolinbroke and *Frank Scammony* held a secret Correspondence immediately with *France* and the

the *Pretender*, and all agreed to set up the Cry of the Church's being in Danger, and to throw all the Dirt and Filth upon his Majesty and Family that could be invented, tho' so foolish, that it were below a *Fish-woman* or a *Newgate-bird* to invent such ridiculous Stories; however, those Stories, mix'd with the Danger of the *Always in the Right Church*, took much with the Dregs and Scum of the People, and to make those vile Creatures the more ready to receive their Inventions, it was given out by these Peace-makers, and *Franck Scammony*, &c. that the King was but a *Presbyterian*; and made use of none but *Presbyterians* about him.

This of the *Presbyterians* had most Weight with the ignorant Wretches, who always hate any serious Religion; and *Franck Scammony's* Emissaries made it their Business to go among the Market-women, and poor ignorant Creatures, to affright them with the *Presbyterians* Design of taking away their Common-Prayer, which is such an Idol with the poor unthinking People, that they had ten times rather lose their Bible than that Book; and to say Truth, the *Papists* are no sonder of their Common-Mass Books, than our ordinary Sort of People, and too many of the other Sort, are of the Common-Prayer, especially the Women, who think no other Service due to God Almighty, than the *English-Mass Book*.

The Peace-makers having got the Generality of Black-coats on their Side, as well as the zealous *Papists*, and succeeded so well among the poor weak Women, Children, Whores and Bauds, both in City and Country, that

now they began every where to raise Mobs and Tumults throughout the Nation, and the Word now is, *The Church and Ormond* (that insignificant Creature) for ever, and threatening the *Presbyterians Meeting-houses*, as the Ruin of their *Always in the Right Church*.

These Affronts and Villanies offer'd to his Majesty and the Nation was wonder'd at by all sober Men, who knew, and could not but own was one of the mildest and justest Prince that was known in *Europe*, even to his own Subjects at *Hanover*, over whom he had an absolute Dominion, and where his Will was the only Law, yet those People parted with him with the greatest Regret.

By this time a new Parliament is call'd, and tho' the Generality of the Clergy, as they stile themselves, had poison'd the People with their Nonsense against his Majesty and the Royal Family, to such a Degree, that Tumults were almost every where rais'd; and tho' the Officers, both Justices of the Peace, Deputy-Lieutenants, Excise-men, &c. were not put out, but continu'd in their Posts, as if plac'd on purpose to help on the Church and *Papists* Designs; yet the Nation seeing the Mischief likely to ensue, chose in general an excellent Parliament.

The black Coats, as they ever had been since *James the First*, endeavouring to destroy the Rights and Liberties of the People under the Notion of *Church*, set themselves now every where throughout the Kingdom more and more, for the stirring up the People to the pulling down the *Meeting-Houses*, &c. And the two
Famous

Famous Universities of Oxford and Cambridge shewing themselves more Zealous than any for the pulling down those Houses, and beginning the Rebellion which now was expected to break out.

His Majesty and the Parliament are happily united for the common Good; and after all the secret Transactings abroad with the *Papish* and *Church* here, the Conspirators having agreed on their Rebellion, and all things prepar'd ready in *France* for the attempt on his Majesty's Throne, by the Pretender in *France* and *Bar-le-duc*, the *French* King dies, from whence the Pretender had his greatest Expectation, notwithstanding our vile Peace made with him for the banishing that Pretender.

Not could this Nation, or any other expect less from that Tyrant and the *French* Nation; However, the Death of that King did a little put back the Pretender, and did much retard the Preparations; but the *French* King before his Death, having so manifestly infring'd the Treaty about *Dunkirk*, &c. as well as sheltering the Pretender at *Bar-le-duc*, gave his Majesty and the Nation a just Jealousie what was intended by *France*.

The Duke of Orleans being declared Regent of *France*, some believed he had a Friendship for our King, and no great Friend to the Pretender; however by the usage of my Lord *Stairs* then in *France*, and what followed after seem'd to be groundless; more especially, if it be considered the kind Reception my Lord *Bollinbrooke*, and the late *Ormond* had in *France*, when they both unexpectedly fled there for

shelter from that just Punishment due for betraying the Nation by that cursed Peace, which they and their Fellow Conspirators had made.

But that which seemed the wonder, was not so much *Bolinbrooke's* flying as the Duke, for of all Men he was, nor could be looked upon, but as an insignificant Tool, and that was supposed to have some Sparks of Religion and Honour in him, at least more than openly turn from his Religion, from our *High-Church* to that of the *Pretender*: As for *Bolinbrooke's* he was but Young, and it was known before his Intrigues with the *Pretender*, but so great a Pillar as the Black-Coats esteemed *Ormond* to be of their Church, was to be admired, by which Sir we may observe what sort of stuff, and materials that Church is built with.

The Rebellion consulted, and the forerunners of it seen by the Tumults in pulling down the Meeting-Houses, &c. and being taken notice of in time, Care was taken for the preventing those Tumults, which gave great Security to the Nation in General from those seditious Tumults, but so certain were the Conspirators of carrying the Point to bring in the *Pretender*, that before the Lord *Marr* had began it in *Scotland*, it was given out, that all would be done and over in six Weeks time, and Sir *William*—

This must be farther observed, that our Church-men, where but three or four Years before, if any did but tell them, when they were transacting that villanous Peace, that the *Pretender* was at the Bottom; and that it was his Game they were playing, as was too plain both

by *Lesley's Books*, &c. and other Writings, yet even those very Men I mean, the always in the *Right Church* would be ready to fly in your Face, but for saying they believed any such thing, yet now their whole cry in City and Country was little else, but the *Pretender* in those very Words mixed in their cries with the *High-Church* to this very Day, as we may have occasion to mention farther by an by.

Bolinbrooke and *Ormond* now fled, the Parliament passed a Bill of Attainder against them, if they surrendred not by a Day fixed; which not doing, they are both attainted of *High-Treason*, and both now either in *France*, or in the *Pretender's* Service: And these two Persons the one *Queen Ann's* excellent Secretary, and the other *Queen Ann's* Pacifick General, by which it must be remarked what Creatures She intrusted, and how much the Nation was beholden to her Majesty, for the making use of such Loyal Church-men.

And now his Majesty having received certain Information of the Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*, under the Conduct of my Lord *Marr*; another of *Queen Ann's* Secretaries, tho' now openly declaring for the *Pretender*, all Care is therefore taken by King *GEORGE*, and by the Parliament for hindering the spreading thereof both in *Scotland* and *England*, and now 'twas no longer to be doubted, that our Church and the *Papist* were both reconciled, and heartily joined together for bringing in *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Pretender* together; And now many of our always in the *Right Church* Clergy, not only pray for the success of this Rebellion, but actually

actually go into it in their Habits both in Scotland and the North of England, where they had raised another Rebellion under the Lord Derwentwater and Forster, both eminent Men of our always in the Right Church; and being joined with Lord Widdrington and other Papists in the North of England, became very formidable, proclaiming the Pretender in all Places they came for King of these his Majesty's Dominions, ravaging the Country where-ever they came.

And to make themselves more formidable, gave out, that the West Country as well as the North of England were engaged in that unnatural Rebellion, and that had not the Parliament passed an Act to empower his Majesty to take up suspected Persons; no doubt, but that Rebellion had spread it self throughout the the Kingdom.

The French all this while assisting with Ships, continually to carry Men and Arms to Scotland without the least stop or hinderance, tho' the King had many Men of War there to watch the Coast, but either the Darkness of the Nights, or something worse always blinded the Eyes of our Commanders, that no Ship was scarce stopped, or taken in the Time of the Rebellion.

However, by the Care and Conduct of his Majesty in the seizing of Windham, Harvey, &c, and some Lords, and securing them; the intended Rebellion in the West was intirely Disappointed, tho' such Promises had been made to France, and to the Pretender, that a Rising would be throughout the Kingdom, that there-

thereupon the *Pretender* ventured himself once more for *Scotland*, but the Rebels being beat by the Duke of *Argyle* before the *Pretender's* Arrival there, and the Rebels in *Lancashire* seized at *Preston*, was taken so much to Heart by the *Pretender*, that upon the March of the King's Army towards the Rebels, again made the *Pretender* leave that Kingdom, weeping for his ill Success.

And tho' the certainty was such, and none could doubt of the Rebels being beat both in *England* and *Scotland*, and multitudes of Prisoners taken, among which was *Derwentwater*, *Forster*, *Widdrington*, &c. and at least sixteen or seventeen Persons of the always in the *Right Church* among them and the *Pretender* gone; yet, it was many Months before it would be credited here by those Black-Coats, and many of their Adherents; and they were still made believe as some at this Day, that *Ormond* was at Sea with Ships for another Rebellion in the *West* of *England*, and that belief, or at least their wish is still continued, that it may be so; tho' God be praised with little Hopes or Ground.

But not to mention more particulars of this unnatural High-Church Rebellion, who had long since spued up their vile Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, and manifestly shown to all the World their Pretences for the Church of *England*, were really only for Popery and Slavery.

But Sir, above all that ought to be observed by the Nation, that to quell this unnatural Rebellion, an Army was forced to be raised and since continued, for to keep them from the like
Rebel-

Rebellion, which they still seem to hanker after with their wonted restless Spirits, and that the quelling them hath cost the Nation a great many Mens Lives and much Treasure, the least of which Lives it cost both in *England* and *Scotland*, which was some Hundreds, if not Thousands, was better and more to be valued than the best of theirs; and at their door, I mean those Black-coats that have the Church's cry always in their Mouths, must one Day be accountable for: Tho' the Clemency of our King hath been so great, as scarce to make Examples of one in Forty, that have actually been taken in this shameful Rebellion: I say, the Blood must lye at their Door, and in Justice to the Nation the Charges also, as well as the *Papist*.

And Sir, in Justice there ought to be a farther Observation made of the Sincerity and Religion of these High-Church-Men, who after there Nonsensical Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, that they have been Preaching up for so many Years, till they had preached their Voters into this Rebellion, as we have mentioned above; yet now when they have wrought up their Pupils and Admirers to this unnatural Rebellion, they not only left them in the Lurch, but even worse then *Judas*, they turn Evidence and Witness against those very Men they have so seduced. This appears by Parson *Patten* giving Evidence, and coming in a Witness against divers of those poor Rebels, and even his very Master had he not made his escape before his Tryal, this I say, ought to be taken notice of by you Sir; for scarce any would have done the like, unless *Newgate Birds*;
thus

thus the World may see what sort of Creatures these are, who are continually crying up this High Church established by Law.

France now after the Pretender's stealing away from Scotland in Tears, and our Ships missing him in his return, as well as coming from France, began to excuse themselves; and say, that they had not leave, nor gave the Pretender any Assistance in setting him forward in that Rebellion, tho' 'twas plain there was a continual intercourse between France and Scotland, as if it had been a lawful Trade by Shipping; but now that Rebellion was quite over, the Court of France not daring it may be to suffer the Pretender to return to Lorrain again; yet instead of that, he is sent only to Avignon into his Unholiness's Territories; tho' at the French disposal when they think fit, where we leave him for the present.

But to return, the Parliament finding so many Lords, as seven taken Prisoners, being Peers, and brought to London among the rest of the Prisoners, they impeach them as the surest way to have Justice done to the King and Nation; for by Impeachments, what ever new Doctrine is now set on Foot, no Pardon can be granted by the Crown to such as are so impeached of High Treason: An Impeachment being in the Nature of an Appeal, which no Lawyer will own is in the King's Power to Pardon; and an Impeachment is a Prosecution in the nature of an Appeal, and not at the King's suit.

And should that Doctrine be allowed, which has been sometimes heretofore set on Foot, to destroy the People's Liberty by Courtiers, it

was

was a Doctrine only invented by the Ministers in favour one of another, that they might be screened for what ever Villany they committed against the Laws and Rights of the People, and the Ministers have set up that Doctrine, that a President might never be made, for fear that if they should be drawn to do, or advise any thing to the destroying the Rights of the People, or the rooting up our Fundamental Laws; yet it may be done with Impunity, being not a Treason within the Statute of the 25th of *Edward the 3d*. So that say they and their Lawyers, it may be, that it not being a Treason in that Statute, tis no Treason at all; but then pray Sir, what is the Consequence.

For we in the Country say at that rate, that we think King *James the 2d*. had hard Fortune, for he committed no Act that forfeited his Right, according to that Statute of the 25th of *Edward the 3d*. and yet was esteemed Guilty, so far as to forfeit for himself and his Descendents, tho' in another Word called Ab-dication here in *England*, but in *Scotland* there it was fore-faulted, which plainly shews to us Country-men, that there are Treasons for a Parliament to inquire after, besides what is mentioned in the Act of the 25th of *Edward the 3d*.

And should this Doctrine, the King can pardon in Cases of Impeachment, and in Appeals as before-hinted; it may so happen, that such a fit, as we have had may come again, and tell the King he is bound by no Laws, and that he may cut the Throats of his People at pleasure, and the People are bound to hold the
the

the Balon while their Throats are cutting; and 'tis no uneasie thing for such wicked Ministers to obtain the King's Pardon, for the doing such Acts as tend to the utter Destruction of the Kingdom.

Besides, Sir, we in the Country say, if the King could before the Act of King *William* the 3^d for settling the Rights of the People, as we firmly believe he could not, yet it seems by that Act, that the thing is quite out of all doubt.

And this must be said further, that if it be so that it is in the King's Power to pardon Impeachments by Parliament without consent of Parliament, that this Nation of *Great Britain* are as meer Slaves as any are in *France*, &c. We can call nothing our own, no more than they, if the Ministers about the King tell him he may do what he pleases, and then sate the King can do no less for such Ministers, then give them their Pardon, which cost him nothing more than his Breath and his Labour of Signing the Warrant for such a graceless Minister.

But to return from this digression, those eleven Lords, except one, pleaded Guilty, two of which only were executed, one dy'd a profess'd Churchman, and the other a profess'd Papist, both agree to justify their Rebellion to the last; several more of an inferiour sort, condemn'd for the same Treason, among all which about four or five executed at *Tyburn*, among those Parson *Paul*, Justice *Hall*, and a Gamester, whom the Dutches of *Ormond* appear'd for in Court as an Evidence to bring him off, tho' with the least ground, unless to shew her Zeal
against

against King George, from whom she expected her Support by the King's Grace; these three Persons, *Hall*, the Gamester, and Parson *Paul* pretended all to be Protestants of the *Church of Eng'land*, except the Gamester; they all dy'd justifying their Rebellion, tho' Parson *Paul* to obtain his Life, had writ the most earnest Letters and Petitions for his Pardon since his Condemnation, and pretended his hearty Sorrow and Repentance for his being in that Rebellion, with sincere Promises to serve his Majesty for the future, insomuch, that his Grace, newly made so, solicited very strenuously for his Pardon; but no Pardon being granted for that *Clergyman*, nor for *Hall* the late Justice of Peace executed with him, they being executed, at their Death, their Papers prepar'd for them by the same Hands as the others, in Justification of their Rebellion, and the Pretender's Right to King George's Crown, in which Papers they call'd themselves also Martyrs, so now we have two more State Martyrs, besides King *Charles the First*, if they may be credited by their own attestation at the Gallows; and if his *Unholyness* will admit them into the Calender of Saints and Martyrs, being profess'd *Hereticks*, not in the Pale of the *Church*, which it is thought by some he will not; because, not only for the Reasons aforesaid, but because at best they are but State Martyrs; and by the Doctrine of the *Church of Rome*, they admit none to be Martyrs but such as sacrifice their Lives for their Church.

And tho' it may be, the *Romans* might have some regard to King *Charles the First*, for
 stilling

filling the *Pope* his *most Holy Father*, as already mention'd; yet it was never known that the *Pope* ever look'd upon Persons to be Martyrs, that had no other Testimony than their own; for, even King *Charles* himself at his exit, never pretended to dye for any other Cause than the Laws of the Land, and had too much of Meekness and Humility to call himself a Martyr, tho' these Traytors presume to do it.

But, Sir, in case his *Unholyness* thinks fit to give these Traytors the Title of Martyrs, it will be expected he first Absolve them from their Perjury; for both Persons, *Paul* and Justice *Hall*, had both not only sworn Allegiance to King *GEORGE*, but had also abjur'd the *Pretender*, as both own and acknowledge: But to leave them and the *Pope* to themselves for the present.

But now our Parliament meeting again, and an Army now on foot as was absolutely necessary, for the suppressing this Church Rebellion, and the deluded People as Mischievous still as ever, notwithstanding the defeat of the Rebels, and the manifest Goodness of God in frustrating the Designs contriv'd against King *GEORGE* and the Nation, by which means we are again forc'd to pay four Shillings in the Pound for the Charges in suppressing this Rebellion, and providing for our future Safety. 'Tis true, the Nation patiently bears it, knowing we have such a King, that designs nothing but the good of his Kingdoms; but yet, it cannot but seem hard, that the Nation should be forc'd to bear such a Burthen, and that the Church, who have been the Cause, should e-

scape that just Punishment, which they deserve as much as the *Papists*, if not more.

And that which more troubles us is, we fear that by means of this Rebellion, and the providing still against another, which we in the Country find many are eager after, and wait only for an Opportunity, will, at last, be a Means to settle a standing Army in the Kingdom; for tho' the Nation can be under no Apprehensions in this Reign of King GEORGE, yet who knows what may come after; there never wants Evil Counsellors, or Evil Ministers to be about a bad King or Queen; and tho' we now experience that one Ministry will endeavour to skreen an other, for fear hereafter it may be their own Fate as before hath been hinted.

Therefore we in the Country think That to be one of the chiefest Reasons why *Oxford*, and those Villains that made that cursed Peace, are so long delay'd from being brought to Judgment, for that Peace, and the Church, hath been the Ground-work of the Rebellion; and 'tis hard also, if they are Innocent, that they should suffer such a delay from Tryal. We in the Country were in hopes that since that Peace was the Groundwork of all the Nation's Trouble, that instead of a long scroul of Articles, one had been better than all those exhibited against *Oxford*, &c.

We thought that if that Peace had been declared, as indeed scarce any Body doubted it to be any other than a Wicked and Villainous Peace; that then one Article would have been sufficient to have convicted them that had a
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Hand in it, and those that put the Seal to it, as well as *Oxford* ; who told us himself, in his Letter to the Queen, that the Care and Burthen of that Peace lay upon him ; and sure, in former times less Evidence would have serv'd to have convicted both Peers and Commons, than that very Letter which is found with him to the Queen.

But since our Legislators have taken other Measures, we must be content, and still wish all may be for the best.

But, Sir, to return to our Parliament ; to prevent Tumults at any new Election in a choice of a Parliament, and for the better quieting the Minds of the People, and it may be, for the easing themselves, it was at the last thought fit for the repealing the *Triennial Act*, and in the room thereof to enlarge the time for a new Choice to 7 Years instead of 3. 'Tis true, the Pretences were plausible enough, they mean well, as before ; and to this many *Whigs* as well as the Courtiers run into it very greedily ; but instead of making the King Friends, which they pretended, it may rather create him more Enemies.

They that truly meant the good of the King and Kingdom, as well as they that were for repealing that Act, gave strong Reasons against it ; first, say they, the *Tories* and *Jacobites* who have had hitherto nothing of Truth, nor show in reality ; for being Enemies to King *GEORGE* or his Ministry, will make this a handle, or at least a popular Pretence to cavil at ; for the *Triennial Act* was long a getting, and whoever goes about to repeal that which the Nation is

so fond of will, in all probability, cause much grumbling against the King and his Ministers, for going about to take it from them; and it will look to the Eye of the World as if a standing Parliament was to be fix'd upon the Nation, as well as a standing Army.

Besides, some that were against the Repeal say, 'tis taking away the right of others, who have as much Reason to be chose to sit in the House, as those now chosen; and one sett of Men ought not to engross to themselves the sole Right of being Members; and farther they say, this very Parliament was chose, when not only the Church so much oppos'd it, but most of the inferiour Officers, Justices, Deputy-Lieutenants, Excise and Custom-house Officers, Post-Officers, &c. in the Kingdom were, and still most of them are known to be poyson'd with *High-Church* or *Jacobitism*, yet the Nation was then able to chuse this good Parliament; but say they, should this good Parliament go about to repeal the Act, they that are for it must never expect to be chosen again; and tho' the King be Passive in it, yet the Black-coats and their Voters, will not fail to cast it upon the King, and insinuate that it is a step to set up a standing Parliament, as well as a standing Army, which, Sir, I know, you are not now for by any Means.

But admit all these Reasons against repealing that Act not to be sufficient with our Place-Members, and some of the *Whigs* so very fond of it, yet why should that Law be quite repeal'd? Why might not the Law have stood for future Parliaments, and only have relation to this

this Parliament only for seven Years, till the Nation be brought to a better Temper?

And Sir, there were those in our Country as well wishers to the King and Kingdom, as the others that thought the Parliament might have found out as safe ways to guard against a *Tory* Parliament's being chose again hereafter, as this way they took, and that was to undo what the *Tories* had been doing, in order to inflave the Nation, and done to pave the way to their fine Peace, and this unnatural Rebellion; and that was, by taking off the Shackles on the *Dissenters*, which those Traytors had put on them, in order to carry on their Treasons more secure; and the admitting all *Protestants* whatever into Places of Trust, as Justices, Officers, &c. without taking the Sacramental Test only in your Church, which was never intended but to bind the *Papist*, and to difference them from *Protestants*; and what should hinder, if we take the Sacrament in any *Protestant* Congregation in as Solemn a Manner as the *Always in the Right Church* does, but we may be admitted to enjoy our natural Birthright as well as others, especially if we give the same Security to the Government, if not much better; for they, or some of them, as we have mention'd before, no sooner swore to it, but Rebel against it.

However, since our wise Legislators have thought fit to go no farther at present, we are told, and so we were before the *Triennial* Bill was pass'd, that great things would be done shortly for the ease of the *Dissenters*, and the further Security of the Kingdom, which time will shew.

But this must be further observ'd, that the thing call'd the *Church*, having once got hold of any thing for their Advantage, tho' it be but Imaginary, very rarely part with it on any Terms; and commonly would rather suffer the Nation to sink, than to lose the least Pin of themselves, nay, the very Bible itself, than their Idol, tho' but of a humane Constitution, as the Bishop of *Bangor* hath honestly told us, and sure it is so, and no other.

I would only ask of you, Sir, and those Gentlemen what they would do, or how would they behave themselves should the Civil Power sett up a *Presbyterian* or a *Lutheran Church*, or any other State Church in the room of this *Always in the Right Church*, which may be done by the Civil Power as well as this, whether they would not think it hard to be debarr'd of their Liberty and Birthright, because they can't take the Communion with the *Presbyterians*, &c. tho' the Law of the Land commands it; let them give their Answer at leisure, and they may have a Reply when they please.

But this Bill being now pass'd, another Question arises, and that is, If the seven Years be quietly run out, and the same restless Spirit in the Nation from the *Church* and *Papist*, still, as 'tis plain it does hitherto, Whether it will not be as necessary to enlarge the time for the continuing this Parliament as before? But in case at the expiration of this seven Years Parliament, and any unforeseen Accident happen to the Nation, and a *Tory* Parliament chose in their room, of this, What a Mischief may such a *Tory* Parliament do in the Nation in seven Years

Years time, especially should there happen to be a *Tory* Ministry, which God forbid, to insinuate to the King a necessity of keeping them together, as King *Charles* the 2d did for near seventeen Years time, where we'll leave them at present.

And now the Parliament after passing many good Laws, and by reason of his Majesty's weighty Affairs abroad, are Prorogued; and the King being gone beyond-Seas to endeavour, no doubt, to settle a Peace among our Neighbours, and bring Tranquility to his Majesty's Dominions, and thereby make up the Breaches, if possible, which the Peace has made. The Church and their Mob still continue their unheard of Scandalous Reflections against his Majesty and the Government, notwithstanding the Lenity and Goodness of the King towards them and their late Rebellious Crew; and yet, all Endeavours are us'd by them to create another Rebellion in the Nation, and to fly in the Face of the Government under his Highness the Prince of *Wales*: And no sooner the King gone, but 'tis given out by those Wretches he is never to return again.

A Mob is again therefore raised in *London*, and others endeavouring in the Country; that in *London* under the pretence of pulling down *Mug-Houses* in *Salisbury-Court*, &c. which was attempted; but the Cry is still at the same time, *The Church and the Pretender*, and that *Ormond* was landed with 20000 Men, and the King would come no more, &c. And five of their Creatures had their Deserts, being hang'd at *Salisbury-Court* end, where the Fact was

done ; yet, this will not do those poor Creatures, the very Scum of the City, scarce Clothes to their Backs ; no sooner are they hang'd, but Hundreds of the like sort are found attending the Corps of these very Men to their Funeral, in Mourning Cloaks and Hat-Bands, to make a formal Procession, as if they had been some of *Luke Milbourn's* Martyrs for the Cause ; and so great a Number, and so great a Charge for the furnishing this Mourning, that it could not be done but by Persons of distinction, that had Money to dispose of for that Cause, and only to fly in the Face of the Government, the poor Wretches, nor their Relations, not scarce able all together to pay for their Coffins, without a Velvet Pall, which they had, and bore up by Persons in Mourning Scarfs, and all buried as our dear Brothers here departed : And the Numbers of this Procession in Mourning grew so great, that the City Officers were forc'd to repel and disperse them.

Such an Insolency was scarce ever heard of in any Civiliz'd Nation, nor could it have been forgiven by any Nation but *England* ; that a Rebellion should be supported chiefly by the cry out for this *High-Church of England* *establish'd by Law* ; but since this Church carries the alarum Bell, let them alone for a time.

I must crave your patience, Sir, now a little, to see what this Church is, and on what Bottom it stands. They, in the first Place, the most Ingenious among them, both High and Low do acknowledge, they are not infallible as *Rome* is ; but yet they say, or at least the greatest part amongst them say, they are
Always

Always in the Right, therefore I give them that
 Title of *Always in the Right Church*.

Now as to a Church of Christ, we must look for it, as I take it in the Bible only, and not from Tradition, or from the Fathers, or by a human Invention, as many do, and leave the Scriptures to shift for themselves: We take it then, Sir, That since the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, all the Jewish Priesthood, Services, Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the *Mosaical Law* are at an end, and cease, and give way to more Spiritual and Divine Worship, and that there is no other Sacrifice acceptable to God now, but a broken and contrite Heart, which every true Christian can, and ought to offer to God without the help of a Priest; not but that there are Ministers of the Gospel chosen by their several Churches and Congregations, for to perform the Office of Ministers or Servants to the several Churches or Congregations, that chuses them for the Church's assistance, as Servants and Ministers to that Church that maintains them to Minister unto them, and to be the Mouth of that Church to declare their Sentence, and expound the Scriptures to them; but far from being the Church themselves, tho' they may be Members of the Church; and it seems to us very strange, that tho' neither our Lord, nor any of his Apostles after him, should make use of the Name of Priests in any Worship or Service whatsoever as we can find, nor indeed were the old Priests under the Law to be rely'd on, to advantage the Christian Church, which in our Saviour's and the Apostle's time, and ever since, I think

I may say, have been the chief destroyers of it; and why those Men that call themselves Priests of the *Church of England* should affect that Name, seems strange, unless it be to imitate the Priests in our Saviour's time to destroy him as they did; but what other ground they have to be so fond of that Title can't be imagin'd. For a Priest was to act a bloody Sacrifice, and sure none will be so Foolish as to rank themselves among the bloody Priests, or act the part of Butchers now, for the Service of Christ's Church.

But to leave them to their own Inventions. in the next Place let it be permitted to examine what is a *Christian Church* properly so call'd, according to the Doctrine of the Gospel; and we in the Country take it to be no other than a Society of Christians gather'd and combin'd together, to worship God according to the best of their Skill and Knowledge, agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and this we think is a true Church of Christ found in our Bibles, tho' it may not be in the Statute Book; and for Proof thereof, we'll appeal to our Saviour's own Words, viz. *Where two or three are gather'd together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them*; And we say that is a Church, and that such a Church may, and ought to chuse their own Minister, Bishop, Elder or Pastor, which is one and the same, tho' different Names; and that such a one as the Church shall so chuse, and the Elders of that Society, laying Hands on him only, have a right to Consecrate and Appoint such a Minister, Elder, or Bishop to be their Pastor to do all Offices in the Name, and for that Church without any other Ordination, or
Consecrati-

Consecration whatever, I mean as to that particular Church only, or else the Words of our Saviour before mention'd must be totally deny'd; for he saith, *He is with such when gather'd together*; and sure if he be with them, then his Spirit is with them; and whatever Acts are done by his Spirit, must be well done, and needed no other human Inventions. And this must be further insisted on, that the meanest Member of such a Christian Church has as much Power to Elect, and Consecrate as they call it, as the best Gownman in the World.

This I think was the practice and original of the Christian Churches before Priestcraft and Diocesan Bishops came into the World; *Quicquid ultra queritur non intelligitur*. And to say the Truth, they were not heard of in the New Testament, and some time after; till a Bishop, which is but four times mention'd in the New Testament, came to be a mighty Man over the rest of the Ministry, tho' he is, nor was no more when Christianity first began than the Parish Minister, or if you will the Parish Priests, and others that did officiate as Ministers to help him in his Parish as an Assistant, were esteem'd but as *Presbyters*, tho' their Call and Ordination was the same.

But since our Saviour's time, and notwithstanding what is before mention'd, as to the Original of the Christian Churches, and the Admonition our Saviour gave his Disciples, That he which would be greatest, ought to be the Servant of all, and that his Kingdom was not of this World; yet how notorious is it, that from the Apostles time to our Days, these

these Creatures call'd Bishops, and their Inferiours, have, and do seek no other than the Lordships, Dominions, and the Riches of this World, in despite, as it were, of the Doctrine of our Lord Christ, and in effect tell him he is mistaken, and does not know how to institute his own Worship.

And further, whereas 'tis by our towering Clergy, as well as those of Rome, deny'd in effect that the Church of Christ can be a Church and subsist without them, and that also the Church is themselves, and the People ought not to be intrusted to chuse their own Ministers, &c. notwithstanding what is said above; it must therefore be farther observ'd, if that be true, then there must be a Minister before there can be a Church, which is contrary to Reason, for no Man can have a Right to be a Minister to a Church, before there be a Church. But again, as to what they say, 'tis not in the People to chuse their Pastor or Minister, but they, the Clergy, must chuse and ordain for the People.

This is the greatest Absurdity imaginable, if we take the Bible for our Guide, for in the First Chapter to the Acts of the Apostles, there we find the whole Congregation of the Disciples of our Lord, being in Number, one Hundred and Twenty, among which was Peter, and the rest of the Eleven Apostles; these Disciples being met together, and after the Speech of Peter to them, they the Congregation chose two Persons to supply the Place of Judas; so then here the whole Congregation had a Right to chuse an Apostle, and yet the

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Congregation before mention'd may not be admitted to chuse an inferior Minister for themselves: How unlike is this? And if the Apostles themselves would not undertake to chuse one, when they had *St. Peter* among them, but left it to the Disciples to do it; sure then the Christians after them might reasonably follow their Example.

But if these Black-coats will but give themselves leave to look into the rest of the Acts of the Apostles, both in the 6th Chapter and the 15th, we shall find there, that the whole Church, that is, all the Disciples, and the whole Body of the Brethren and Elders were call'd together to advise with, to chuse and establish all Acts and Commands of the Church, tho' the Apostles themselves were present.

But 'tis a Truth so well known to all that read the Bible, as well as the Common-Prayer-book, the Right is in the Church, which is the Body of a Christian Congregation, that 'tis a Shame to spend longer time about it; and this must be added, whether the Black-coats will or no, that 'tis the Election gives a Right to the Minister, and not the Consecration, the Consecration being but the Consequence of the Election.

Thus Sir, I have but barely mentioned our Opinion, what a Christian Church is, and what it was before *Popery*, and the Folly of Christians heaping up Riches on the Ministers was, by which Christianity was quite lost into Superstition and Idolatry; for while the Ministers lived on the Bag and the Basket, there was some footsteps of Christianity left in the World, but

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now let us a little examine what this Church of *England* established by Law is, since so great a cry and noise is made about it.

Above Two Hundred Years since, the pretended Church of *Rome* received a great wound, by the means of *Luther*, *Calvin*, &c. beyond the Seas; insomuch, that a Reformation began in most Parts of *Europe*, our King *Henry* the 8th, to ingratiate himself with the *Pope*, wrote against the Doctrine of *Luther*, and by that means his Unholiness stild our King *Henry* Defender of the Faith; but sometime after, King *Henry* wanted to change his Wife, and applying to his Unholiness for his License so to do, a Quarrel happen'd between them; and some small time after, the King marries *Anne* of *Bullen* a Secret Protestant, and the Parliament of *England* as well as the *Pope*, declar'd our King Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith, investing in him and his Heirs with all Power whatsoever, that the *Pope* heretofore claimed to be in him only, and took away all Authority from the Sec of *Rome* against the *Pope's* Consent.

Thus *Henry* the 8th, and all Kings and Queens of this Realm, became solely possessed of all spiritual Jurisdiction; whatever the *Pope* could claim, this was the original of the Church of *England* at that time, tho' Popery as to the Religion still continued as before; and the King and the Nation professing the same Popish Religion; tho' there were at that time some of the Prelates, as well as others, that leaned very much to a Reformation, and this made the *Papist* mock the Protestants in *England* afterwards,

wards, and reproaching them with their Reformation, telling them their Religion came out of *Henry* the 8th's Cod-piece.

The Parliament after by the Instigation of *Henry*, took away the Lubber-lands, and invested them in the Crown for ever; that is to say, the Abby and Monastery, but not the Dean and Chapters, which ought to have run the same Fate, having been got by the same wicked Devices, as the Lubber-lands of the Monasteries and Abbies were.

King *Henry* the 8th dying, left one Daughter by his first Queen *Katherine*, call'd *Mary*, and Princes *Edward* and *Elizabeth* by *Ann* of *Bullen*; and by this time many of the honest Bishops, as well as others, finding the Tyranny of the *Papists* so great, were resolv'd to free themselves from that Yoke of *Popery*. *Edward* the 6th, Son of King *Henry* succeeded his Father, a very hopeful Prince, tho' very young, and a zealous *Protestant*; he made it his study to settle a *Reformation* throughout the Kingdom, divers Bishops, as *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, &c. with many Lords, especially the King's Uncle, made it their whole study to frame the *Reformation*, and to do it the most tenderly that could be, for fear of disgusting the People, then so Ignorant and Zealous for their *Mass* Book.

Therefore the *Reformers* went as warily in, it as might be; and well foreseeing the Danger it would be wholly to throw off all the Absurdities of the *Romish* Religion, at one time, they begun by degrees. And first, since the Ignorant People were so fond of their *Mass*-Book, they agree to frame out of some parts of the *Mass*-Book,

Book, containing Collects of Devotion, and put them in the *English* Tongue, telling the People as in truth, it was only the *Mass-Book* put into *English*, which took with the People so much, that they readily swallow'd the Bait, and this our first *Reformers* did, on purpose to bring them off from their blind Superstition by degrees, and to lead them out of that Darknes they had been bred in; But far was it from their Thoughts, that this was to be all the *Reformation* intended.

And no doubt, our first *Reformers*, had they foreseen that the Book of *Common Prayer* then establish'd by Act of Parliament, would have been made such an Idol of, as the *Mass-Book* had been before, they would not have stuck there, but have gone on to a farther *Reformation* at the beginning; but such were the Seeds of *Popery*, and *Priestcraft* ever since, unless in *Queen Elizabeth's* time; that instead of going further from *Rome* in our *Reformation*, we have have been on the contrary sliding backwards towards *Rome* ever since.

And tho' our first *Reformers* intended only this *Common Prayer* Book to be a help to teach the People to Pray, and to open their Eyes, as People teach their Children to go, by making use of Leading-strings to give them before they go, or as a *Horn-Book* or *Primmer* to learn them to Read; yet they never could be thought to be so weak, as to force the People when they were grown from Children to Manhood, to make use of those Leading-strings, or *Horn-Books* any longer; for naturally there is a growth in all Arts and Sciences, and why not in the Christian

stian Religion, why must Christians always be bound to follow Forms in religious Worship, instead of Spiritual and Divine Worship, agreeable to the whole Scripture.

Thus began the Reformation at first in this Kingdom, and no doubt, but those first Reformers intended nothing more than the true worship of God by a thorow Reformation; yet we may see, how dangerous a Thing it has been, and still is to Mankind, to go about to establish a form of Worship by human Laws, which they have no Authority for, by any Divine Law or Precept from Christ; and it may not be amiss to take notice, what mischief has been done the Christian Religion by persecuting Christians almost in all Times, for not obeying those human Laws and Inventions of Mankind in matters of Religion: And it ought to be considered, that if we find Laws made by the cruel Powers about Religion, whether those Law-makers, if they have no Authority from the Scriptures for the making such Laws, do not invade the Prerogative of our Lord; and plainly tell him, that he understood not to make sufficient Laws for his Worship; or else, that our Lord Christ is beholden to Mankind, for doing that which he had either forgot, or had not Wisdom sufficient to do. But,

To return, this pious Prince soon left this World, as too good for such a People; his Sister Queen *Mary*, the Daughter of Queen *Catharine* succeeds him, a violent *Papist*; and soon undid what had been before begun as to the Reformation, and now *Popery* is again fixed in *England*, and many *Hereticks* as they call them

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burnt and destroyed, and among them, those that had the chief Hand in the Reformation.

But her Reign is short, and her Sister Queen *Elizabeth*, one of the Daughters of *Henry* the 8th by *Ann* of *Bullen*, succeeds her to the Throne, being a professed Enemy to *Popery*; her Reign was long and prosperous, notwithstanding the many *Popish* Attempts and Plots against her; and in her Reign the before said Reformation was again made upon the same Foot, and the said *Common-Prayer-Book* the Ground-work of that which is called the Church of *England*, is again established by Act of Parliament; and in the latter end of her Reign, this Act of Parliament Church of *England* establish'd by Law could not hold, but must follow the steps of *Rome*, to persecute the *Dissenters* as came not up to the Ceremonies and Doctrines of this new Church, tho' but just then separated from their Superstition and Idolatry; nor indeed can less be expected from any National Church whatever, established by a human Power, than a Persecution.

And this must be farther observed, that our Reformers as before in their infant Reformation, were so timorous, that tho' they had the Scriptures as before for their Guide, yet they thought themselves not safe in the Reformation, for their Ministers were consecrated by *Popish* Priests; and to this Day the generality of our Clergy of this Act of Parliament-Church, allow the Ordination of the Church of *Rome* to be good, notwithstanding they are an Idolatrous Church, and called so by the Church of *England*.

And

- And, Sir, to that heighth are our Clergy now come, as we find by Doctor *Hickes's* Book and some others of the Nonjuring Clergy, which I doubt not Sir but you have read, that they positively set up for down-right *Popery*, and Independency from the Civil Magistrate, and that they totally deny any Ordination to be good that is done by the Civil Power now: Nay, they tell us plainly, that unless our Church have their Ordination from the late Non-juring Bishops, they are no Ministers, nor Members of Christ's Church, and that all the Services they do in the Church are invalid; tho' by the by, before they had gone so far in their bold Assertion, they ought to have own'd at least, that those Non-juring Bishops were made by the Civil Power, and by no other Authority, than what all our Kings have done since the Statutes of *Henry* the 8th.

And if they set up any other way of appointing and consecrating Bishops, &c. they must go back again to *Rome*, from whence at first they fetched it; for here's no medium between going to *Rome* for their Ordination, and the Civil Power here in *England*.

Well then, since Sir by Doctor *Hickes* and Mr. *Howell's* Doctrine, we must now go to *Rome* for Bishops and Priests, &c. or we must have none, I would desire your Patience a little, to examine the *Papist's* Infallibility and their Ordination, which this Nonjuring Church so much relies on, and it seems at first sight to be very hard, that the Church of *England* which they pretend to be of, and who condemn the Church of *Rome* as Idolatrous, as by

the Articles they do, and yet, that no Ordination is good, but what comes from them.

Now Sir, if no Ordination be good but what comes from *Rome*, how justly may the *Papist* return upon us, that we are beholden to them for all the Religion we have, notwithstanding the Clamour made against them by our Church; for by Doctor *Hickes*, &c. they say in plain Words, they have a Divine Right from Heaven paramount all Laws whatever, relating to the Church Affairs, and are above all Emperors, Kings and Princes; and all that act as Clergymen under our Government are *Schismaticks*, &c. this I think is plain, the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and was never esteemed the Doctrine of the thing called the Church of *England* till now.

Well then let us examine, how this Power came to them, and by what Authority she came by this Power in Church Affairs.

First, say they, we of the Church of *Rome* claim it by Scripture Antiquity, and the Fathers of this Church: As to that of the Scriptures we will hear them, but as to the Fathers and Antiquity, we in the Country give very little Credit to any of them, farther then the written Word gives us, that being our Rule only, and agreeable to the late Bishop of *Bangor*, and as to the Fathers, they are commonly one writing against the other, and sometimes against themselves; and for Antiquity, we believe the Bible to be the most ancient Writing, and therefore must be guided by that.

As to the Scripture which, says the *Papists*, is very plain on our Side, for, say they, Our
Lord

Lord Jesus Christ made *St. Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, telling him, *Thou art Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it: And again, He bids *St. Peter* feed his Sheep, &c. And, say the *Papists*, *St. Peter* was Bishop of *Rome* Twenty five Years, and his Successors still enjoy the Priviledge of being Head of Christ's Church, and it belongs to the *Pope* as Christ's Vicar and *Peter's* Successor, to take Care and Order in his Church, &c. and all Powers on Earth must be subject unto him, as he is Christ's Vicegerent.

We shall to all this give a very concise and plain Answer: And first, none unless they be wilfully blind, but must own, that the Rock our Saviour mentions, was not, nor could be any other than the Faith which *Peter* profess'd, in answer to the Question put to him by our Saviour, which was, Whom do Men say I am, and after what say you, saith our Lord to *Peter*; why *Peter's* Answer was to our Lord, Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God: Our Saviour replies on this Confession of *Peter*, That he believ'd him to be the Christ, &c. and by it our Saviour then tells him, Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock he would build his Church, that was, the Faith of *Peter* then declar'd; but could any Man think the Church that is to endure for ever, could be built upon *Peter*, who we find in a short time after deny'd his very Lord and Master.

And where is there any thing in the whole Bible that gives *Peter* any Priority over the rest of the Apostles, or gives him the least Power

to name Successors, either in the Bishoprick of Rome, or elsewhere in the World? And as for the feeding of the Sheep, &c. all our Saviour's Apostles had as much Power given them by our Saviour, as Peter had, to propagate the Gospel, which was the feeding the Sheep and the Lambs, &c.

As for what the *Papists* say of Peter's being at Rome, and of his Twenty five Years a Bishop of that Place, there's not the least Ground in Scripture for such an Imagination, but quite the contrary; as to this, they do indeed Quote the Fathers for their Authority, which, as we have shown above, were no less infallible than other Men; and as for *Eusebius's* mentioning of Peter's being Bishop of Rome, 'twas shuffled into that History by St. *Jerome* only, for, as we shall see further, it was morally impossible that ever Peter was at Rome, much less Bishop there for Twenty five Years, and then crucified there in Nero's Time, with his Head downward, as *Moreri* writes in his Dictionary, and what he saith of Peter, as before, seems to be as fabulous as what he tells us of the Lady *Loretto's* Chappel, which flew over the *Adriatick*, or *Mediterranean-Sea* at two Flights, and at last settled it self in *Italy*, after two or three resting Places, where, if you believe Father *Moreri*, it remains to this Day, and is had in great Veneration by all good Christians. This traveling of the Lady *Loretto's* Chappel, which Father *Moreri* tells us of, is not unlike another notable Story of his about St. Peter and *Simon Magus*, who tells us that *Simon Magus* continuing still his old Tricks of Sorceries, coming to Rome, when

when *St. Peter* met him there, a Bishop no Doubt, and *Simon Magus* who was there playing his old Tricks in bewitching the People, *Peter* thereupon rebuked him, and deliver'd him over to Satan, and Satan catching up *Simon* in his Arms, was carrying him away to Hell, but *Simon Magus* being in the Devil's Clutches, he crys out earnestly to good *St. Peter* to help him, and so great was *Peter's* Compassion to *Simon*, that he pray'd to God to deliver him, and by Virtue of *St. Peter's* Prayers, the Devil was not able to carry him any farther, but was forc'd to let him fall upon the Pavements in Rome, and by the Fall broke both his Legs.

These Miracles seem to be altogether as true as *St. Peter's* being at Rome, and Twenty five Years a Bishop there, as the Fathers will have it, especially *Father Moreri*: But to be serious, It is by the New-Testament very manifest, that it was not only very improbable, but almost impossible that ever *St. Peter* should ever be at Rome, much less seated a Bishop there. First,

St. Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, and *St. Peter* of the Jews; and the Disciples of *Christ*, after his Resurrection, were sent forth into all Parts of the Earth, to convert the World, and to gather Congregations of Christians together, and not settle Bishopricks upon themselves: The Time for settling themselves in fat Bishopricks or large Diocesses, was a little too early in *St. Peter's* and *St. Paul's* Time; the Sweetness of Bishopricks, was not then known in the World; and tho' it's manifest, that *Paul* was at Rome several Times in *Nere's* Reign, and had a Congregation of Christians there, as we find

by his Epistle afterwards to the *Romans*, he had ; and when he reckons up in his Salutations many select Christians by Name, yet there's not one Word of *St. Peter*, tho' so noted a Man must needs have been, if he ever had been there, or Bishop there, unless we can imagine *St. Paul* to be so base and ill-natur'd, as wilfully to forget him : But,

Besides *St. Peter* being the Apostle of the *Jews*, and not of the *Gentiles*, as we have said, what should *Peter* do at *Rome*, much less fix his Seat there, where scarce any *Jews* were, unless a few beggerly Creatures, who got their Living by shewing of Tricks, and by *Checkanare*.

But beyond all Doubt, the whole of his being at *Rome*, or Bishop there, can't have the least Ground, if we consult the Scripture instead of the Fathers and the Antiquity they build upon ; for by the New Testament we find *St. Peter* dates his First Epistle general, from *Babylon*, where he was when he wrote that Epistle ; now *Babylon* is in the farthest Part of *Assyria*, Eastward, which is the last Place we have any Account of him in the New Testament ; but how he should come over that vast Tract of Land as well as Sea, to settle himself Bishop of *Rome*, and not one Word mention'd of him, either of his Travel or by what Means he came there from *Babylon*, seems to be as great a Wonder as the Flight of the Lady *Loretto's* Chappel over the Land and Sea, as is mention'd before.

Yet 'tis upon these Topicks that the Infallibility of *Rome* is built ; but now, in Case it should be granted, notwithstanding all these
Impro-

Improbabilities, that *St. Peter* was at *Rome*, &c. can it appear, either by what our Saviour said to *Peter*, as before, that he, that is his Person, was that Church, that Rock which our Saviour mentions, that the Gates of Hell should not prevail against? Besides, these Gentlemen of *Rome* ought to shew us plainly, that *St. Peter* before he departed this Life, did make and ordain his Successor, and that he had Power to do so before he dy'd, otherwise we shall be at a loss still, for tho' *St. Peter* might be infallible, as by the *popish* Doctrine, yet they that follow'd him not being rightly ordain'd or constituted by *St. Peter*, and so on to this Day, they may be all without this Infallibility, tho' *Peter* had it; for if once one Link of the Chain be broke, the whole Infallibility is at an end, and then what a Dilemma must we be in for our Ordination, and the Consecration of this infallible Church, especially if none be good but their's.

And it may very well be demanded, was not this Chain broke many times, especially when there was two *Popes* at a time, and sometimes three, one at *Avignon*, one at *Rome*, and another at *Bologna*; and these three *Popes*, which continu'd so Thirty or Forty Years together, declar'd themselves all true *Popes*, and excommunicating and cursing one another with Bell Book and Candle; now which of these three, if either, was *Peter's* Successor, is impossible to determine, either by *Dr. Hicks* or any other that relays on the *popish* Ordination.

But 'tis time to have done with these *popish* Trinkets, and to return to answer what *Dr. Hickes* and our *Non-jurors* of the Church of
England

England cry out for; they do boldly call themselves the true Church of *England*, in Defiance of the King's Prerogative and the Laws of the Land, and they with too many others who have taken the Oaths to King *GEORGE*, having got a black Gown or Frock on their Back, they do as boldly term themselves that thing call'd the Church of *England*, as if the whole Church were wrap'd up in their Pudden Sleeves.

But methinks, in Modesty, our *Non-juring* Church, who do not do vnrighr own themselves *Papists*, should not make so bold with the People here as in *Italy*, to fancy themselves to be the Church of Christ, or any other than the Servants and Ministers of that Church, unless they mean thereby, that they are to the Church as the Trumpets and Drums are to an Army, to sound the Alarm; if they mean so we agree with them, otherwise not; nor do we in the Country esteem any more the greatest Man of the Church, as to Christianity, better than the meanest and poorest Christian Cöbler in the Parish, if he belong to the Christian Church: And it seems to us very strange, that since Dr. *Hickes*, &c. does not own the Church of *Rome* but in some particular Cases, which is their Ordination, &c. that they and the rest of the *Non-juring* Church, as well as others, should be so fond of the Term, Name, and Habit of Priests, since neither our Saviour nor any of his Apostles ever mention'd any such Persons as Priests to be made use of in Christ's Church, nor indeed could there be any Reason for the making use of such Priests, being those that had the chief Hand in the Crucifying our Lord,
and

and ever since to this Day his Followers. We can't imagine also that there could be any need for such Persons to officiate in the Christian Church, where there was no bloody Sacrifice to be kill'd or offer'd up, nor no Calves or Bulls to be knock'd down or kill'd by the Priests; or their Blood to be sprinkled upon the Altars, as in the *Jewish Service*, which was the Priests Office then to do, and therefore their Priests were dress'd like Butchers, with Lawn Sleeves to prevent the Blood dashing on their other Garments; but, why they should wear those Priests Garments now, unless to imitate the old Priests or our Butchers as at *Rome*, is a Wonder to many in our Country, tho' some think these Habits of Priests are still kept up for the Sake of the *Mitre* which *Aaron* wore when he officiated in the Tabernacle, which they hope and expect will one Day again fall to their Share to wear, after the Christian Religion, by their Fopperies is banish'd the World; but we in the Country do believe they'll find themselves deluded at last, and that whatsoever Efforts they and the Devil can make, the true Christian Religion shall and will prevail to the End of the World. But now 'tis time to leave them.

And since we find by *Dr. Hickes*, *Mr. Howell*, &c. and *Parson Paul*, and *Esq; Hall* the two new Martyrs, that they all agree in their Nonsensical Doctrine, that the Prince whatever he be, and however he acts and governs, or whatever Religion he be of, he can't be put by the Throne: Then is Mankind the most miserable of all God's Creatures! And if the Clergy of the Church

Church have such a Power over all Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Laws, that no human Power can divest them of, then it follows, all Kings and Princes are but their Servants and Slaves; But can Mankind believe these Creatures to be any other than Madmen; and if Mankind do believe them in their Senses, sure 'tis high time to expel them and their Doctrine from the Confines of *Great Britain*, lest we be as great Slaves as our Neighbours, under the *Roman Tyranny*.

But, say they, the Christian Religion teaches us to submit our selves to the higher Powers &c. and to be obedient to Governours, and we must not resist them on any Pretence whatever; but can these Gentlemen tell us in what Part of the Bible we may find that, whoever embraces the Christian Religion ought to be only Slaves and not Free-men; or was the Intent of our Lord, that all that profess'd his Name should give up all their Civil Rights and Liberties; and they must also shew us, if they can, that a Tyrant, a King, or what you please to call him, may break the Commands of God at his Pleasure, killing and murdering his Subjects, and not be accountable to the Laws; and that the Command which saith, *Thou shalt not kill*, and whoever sheds Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed: But a King &c. may do all this in despite of the Laws of God; if these Church Men can shew us any Text of Scripture that gives License to a King or Tyrant, to cut the Throats of his Subjects, and destroy them, as *Nero* did, instead of preserving them, then there may be some Grounds for these Gentlemens Doctrine.

But

But Sir, I can't but take notice of this one Thing farther, that since the Time of 25th of Henry the 8th. all Power whatsoever the Pope of Rome claimed in Church Affairs, was all invested in the Crown of England as you well know, and no Bishop whatever in England can be chose by any other Authority, than from the King under the Great Seal, and tho' it be true, that a *Congedilire* is sent to the several Chapters upon a Vacancy, to chuse one for the vacant Bishoprick; yet in the said *Congedilire* the King mentions the Persons named in the *Congedilire*, which they must chuse, and can chuse no other under the Penalty of a *Pramunire*; and so likewise 'tis a *Pramunire*, if they that are authorized by Commission from the King, to consecrate such a one as the King appoints, he or they are likewise guilty of a *Pramunire* also: If they do it not, tho' it is true the Chapter do in a formal Manner meet and go to Prayers before they enter into the Choir, but the Name of the Person in the Black-box, is the Man must be chosen, whether they pray for Direction or not; So that its plain, the Civil Power chuses the Bishop, and none else; and where the *Jure Divinoship* is all this while, will puzzel even Doctor *Sacheverell* himself, as well as the rest of his Tribe; then if this be so, which can't be deny'd, the *Non-Jurors*, &c. will find themselves at a greater loss than before: For none can doubt, but the Power that made those Non-juring Bishops have a like Power to take it away, when they refuse Obedience to that Law that makes them: And that the new Ordination which they rely on from the Non-juring

ring Bishops, is nothing at all but a meer Dream ; and farther, that the same Civil Power ordained the one as well as the other, and whether ordained by the Non-juring Bishops or any other, still is all but of a human Constitution. And they, the Bishops being created by the Civil Powers, can give no better a Title to the Ministers they ordain, than what they receiv'd themselves, and the *Jure Divinoship* they pretend to is only given them by the Civil Power,

And Sir, it seems to us in the Country that the great Noise they tell us of the Church's being in Danger, hath no other Foundation, than that of a Reformation, which God grant, tho' it be the only Thing they fear, or else in few Years Time, we may chance to see all the Pretences for the Christian Religion swallowed up in superstitious Ceremonies; and this Idol the *Common-Prayer-Book*, which the unthinking Mob, the Rakes, Whores, and Bauds about Town, so much admire before the Word of God.

And this Sir appears, but too visible in all the Churches about the Town, for you shall see them Post to be at the reading the Prayers, or as some call it saying of Prayers, or the running over the Prayers; and when that's done, and the noise of the Parish-Boys at an end, and the Organs ceases, out they go as fast as they came in, and leave the Sermon and the Parson almost by himself, but they that stay to hear him, if it be a Political Sermon, or to induce the People to Charity, &c. Then say the Auditors, the Parson hath a most excellent Sermon ;

mon; and it may be, the next News we hear, he is desired to Print it; and indeed it seems, as if the whole Christian Religion did wholly lie in that Book, and the Rites and Ceremonies of this Church without any farther Reformation; for that you know Sir, not less than two thousand Ministers of Jesus Christ had their Mouths stopped in one Day; as the Act 14 of *Car. 2d.* directs for not Conforming to that Book, and other Ceremonies in that Church; and for ought I know, the stopping so many Mouths of Christ's Ministers then, may be one means of the many Judgments of God, that hath since fell upon the Nation.

And since none of our Clergy from the time of the first Reformation, have made one step for a farther Reformation, to reform those Things left to be reformed; and if we must stay till they do it, I doubt Sir, we shall stay long enough.

But the Adversaries to a Reformation, are always telling us, there must be Forms of Prayer in a National Church, but what they mean by that I know not; unless it be that a National Church, and a Church of Christ are two different Things; but besides what has been said before, the greatest Reason they have for these National Churches and Forms, is to save them and the rest of those that call themselves Christians the trouble, and the difficulty of praying, or searching into their own Hearts, to see whether their Tongues and Hearts go together; 'tis Laziness and Idleness that makes them so fond of Forms, for tho' the reading of Prayers, saying of Prayers, &c. be easie to be performed,
yet

yet praying is not ; any Child may be taught to make a noise in the Churches, and answer at the Responses, &c. so as to drown the Parishioners ; and fit them for the Voices of the Church, and whatever else they that govern them think fit to put upon them, but there's a great difference between that and praying ; but Sir, there is one or two Things, yet more dangerous in the breeding up the Youth, both the Charity Children, and all others that most frequent the Church of *England* Prayers ; and that is the little Care that is taken to instruct them in that great Doctrine, which our Saviour came to teach us, and that is the new Birth, and the Regeneration ; now he tells us, *We must be born again, if ever we enter into the Kingdom of Heaven* : But Sir, where do we find any Sermons in either City or Country, that so much as border upon that Doctrine ?

And again, as that is almost totally neglected both by High and Low Church : So do they also still make it their Business, to edge rather nearer and nearer to *Popery*, instead of a farther Reformation ; otherwise how comes it to pass, that this Church of *England* retains still in their Catechism, which all young Ones are enjoined to learn, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is verily and indeed the very Body and Blood of our Lord ; for so are the Words, that the Child must answer (*viz.*) *verily and indeed* the Body and Blood of our Lord ; what can any *Papist* say more than this, and is it not, and may not this kind of Service be performed by any Man or Woman, as well as he that wears the black Gown or Surplice ; yet
to

to pray to God is quite a different Work, and we take it, that the true Reason, why so many are so fond of formal Prayers, and reading them out of a Book, instead of Closet Prayers, and examining the Heart is purely laziness and lukewarmness as is above-hinted; and that Idleness as well as Ignorance, is the chief occasion of the extream Kindness poor Creatures have for this *Common-Prayer-Book*, and the fine Musick and Ceremonies, for 'tis undoubtedly the easier way to go to Heaven, if that will serve the turn, *sed tamen queri.*

But 'tis time to leave these Juring and Non-juring Gentlemen to themselves, which are now condemning one another for *Schismatics*, and *Hereticks*, &c. and to keep up the Ball still, Dr. *Sacheverell* he tells us now, that not only the Church is in Danger, but even hath received its Death's wound; and while the King is absent, the same Spirit is industriously still at work both in City and Country, exclaiming against the Government, and branding his Majesty, as well as his Ministers with all manner of villainous Falsities, that their Malice and the People can invent.

And because nothing is so hateful to the Scum of the Nation, as any thing that is Serious or Religious, its the Cant given out, that the King is a *Presbyterian*, and none but *Presbyterians* are about him, imployed or preferred either in Church or State; and the bait takes so well with the Whores, Bauds, and the Dregs of the unthinking Mob, who hate any Religion, unless show which the generality swallow down greedily: That the *Presbyterians* are
I their

their only Enemies, and whose design is to take away their Service Book, without which the Church can't subsist.

But so notoriously false is this Sir you know, and Dr. *Sacheverell* himself can't Name any one about the King in any Office or Trust whatever, that is, or ever was a *Presbyterian*, or so much as any *Dissenter* whatever: Nor can there be any such employed, the Laws forbidding it as you know Sir, which the Church have procured to pass on purpose to hinder them of their natural Birth-right; so that Dr. *Sacheverell*, and the rest of his associates must mean something else to be the Death's wound of the Church; for it can't be the *Dissenters*, nor nothing else as we in the Country can imagine, but the Church against the Church, which the *Dissenters* meddle not with: Tho' it may be some of them have too much cause from their former Usage of them, not to be much concern'd at their Disagreement among themselves, but this the *Dissenters* may say and rejoice in, that notwithstanding they have been cut off from their Birth-right, by Laws made against them, procured only by these Church-men, yet none of them have been found in the late Rebellion, for the Destruction of the Church, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, as too many of themselves have done; and I fear many more of them would have done it, had they been but half so hardly dealt with, as the *Dissenters* have been.

And this ought farther to be observed, that the *Dissenters* usually never rebel against any Laws of the Land, but only against such Irregularities,

gularities, as my Lord *Clarendon* calls them, as obstinate Princes would force upon the People against the Laws of the Land; when they are led away to their own Destruction by Priest-craft; Dr. *Sacheverell*, or at least some of his Progenitors know well enough whom I mean, and therefore I leave him and the rest of his Cloth to consider of it at their Leisure.

But its Time now to go on to some further Observations on the present State of the Nation; and to take Notice by the Way, that since the King's Absence from us, the Enemies of his Majesty and the Nation have not been Idle in the framing Stories, as before, to delude the ignorant People, but they have under-hand also been trying their Wits to make some Misunderstandings, if possible, between our Courtiers; and not only contriving to sow Discords and Dissentions among Persons of Great Note at Court, but even have been endeavouring, if it were possible, to set Father against Son, and Son against Father; and some there have been since Majesty's Departure, that had so little Brains and less Honesty, have been endeavouring to glaver with the Prince by their insinuating Addresses to him instead of his Majesty, but the Prince was wise enough to see through those Contrivances, and soon let them know he should recieve none but what came to him for his Majesty.

And now all of a sudden, when these Church and Tory Contrivances, as before-mention'd, have not had the desir'd Effect, for the de-

stroying the Happiness we enjoy under his Majesty's Reign, and the Prince's wise Government in his Absence; and when the other Day News was spread throughout the City of my Lord *Townsend* being remov'd from Secretary of State; and a Talk of some other Alterations, it may be without ground, the High- Church and *Tories* prick up their Ears, as if *Tories* and Traytors were like to come into Fashion again; and a mighty whispering, that there must be a thorough Change in the Ministry; and then the next Parliament to pass an Act of Indemnity, which will wipe off all our Scores, and fit us for a new Rebellion.

But God be prais'd, the King knows them too well to trust any of those Creatures; and never was yet found to be in the least Unsteadiness; he is too wise to be trick'd by them, who have been all along tricking the Nation under Pretence of Loyalty and Zeal for the Church: And tho' his Lordship may be remov'd from that Post of Secretary, yet who knows but its intended a Service to him, in order for some better Post; but suppose the King hath other secret Reasons, does it follow that his Majesty will ever trust them that have betrayed, and ever will betray any Prince, that relies on their Loyalty, as hath sufficiently appear'd already; nor is it likely they will ever do better, while they have Power and Riches heap'd upon them; and sure nothing calls for a more serious Consideration, than to suppress that growing Spirit of Pride and Rebellion, that reigns in so many of these
Church

Church of *England* Men at this Day, where we leave them for the present.

Only this we must say, that we can never too much admire the Goodness of God to us in these Lands, that notwithstanding the many Devices of this Church and Faction against these Nations before-mention'd, since the Reign of King *James* the 1st to the Death of Queen *Ann*, and still carrying on both at Home and abroad; yet to this day the Conspirators in all these Plots and Contrivances have met with nothing but Disappointments, and still will by the same Providence, unless we play away again our Deliverances; and the good People of these Kingdoms may justly say *Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos.*

And this must be observ'd, that by the Wisdom and Steadiness of his Majesty, how base soever these *High-Church* Mobs have treated him and his Ministers at Home; the Nations abroad are so sensible of his Justice and Power, that even *France* and *Spain*, and other our Neighbours pay him that Respect due to his Character, and have condescended to yield him since his coming to the Throne of his Ancestors other like Terms than those Peace-Makers of Queen *Ann* had cut for these Kingdoms; and those Potentates are still courting King *George* for his Friendship and Alliance, so vast a Difference there is between Truth and Falshood.

Its now Time to take a farther short View of our present Circumstances; and to see in what Condition we are brought into partly by the late War, and partly by the treache-

rous Practices of our late Peace-makers, whose Endeavours always were as much as could be to embroyl the Nation, and load it with Debts, but wilfully omitted all Care to get out of those Debts, which clogg'd the Wheels of the Government.

If it be thoroughly examin'd, at the time his Majesty King *George* came to the Crown, the Nation was not less in Debt than near 50 Millions of Pounds Sterling, and every Year still calls for a necessary Supply in times of Peace, for Stores for the Navy, Guards and Garrisons, which must not be very small since our Neighbour of *France* has got such a Peace from us, and the rest of the Confederates against him, by means of that trayterous Peace lately made with *France*, that instead of fearing us as he did before that Peace, now he is got into such a Condition as to be a Terrour even to *Europe* itself, so that *Britain* may truly say we beat all we fought with, and lost all we fought for: Thanks to the *High-Church* Ministry of the late Queen; and for which the *Pretender* in his *Declaration* did not forget to take Notice of the Kindness of her, which he, saith he, had no Reasons to doubt of, and which seem'd to be the only Truth in his *Declaration*.

So then by these means here seems at present no Remedy but Patience; and either from time to time we must be content to lye under this great Debt, and support the *Annual* Charges to defend us against *France*, or else be swallow'd up by him and the *Pretender*, when any Opportunity presents itself: For this must be

be own'd as certain, that *France* never keeps Peace nor Treaties any longer than agrees with his Interest.

And whatever is now reported of an Alliance with *France* &c. there will be as little Reason now to rely on their Sincerity as before, were it not that we have now a King on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, that is too great and too just to follow the Steps of our late Kings, whose Practice has been to suffer themselves either to be bubb'd or Hector'd by the *French* King and his tricking Counsellors, besides their leaning too much to the *French* Religion and Government, which we of this Land have no Cause to fear while King *George* reigns over us; and therefore 'till we know the Full of that Treaty, what it is, 'twill be the best and safest Way to rely on him we have not the least Causes to distrust, either as to his Justice or Abilities to manage such important Affairs.

In the next Place let it be consider'd, not only this great Debt upon the Nation, and the Annual Charges for the yearly Support, as before hinted, but most of the Revenue of the Kingdom is under Mortgages, and great Anticipations to pay off these Incumbrances; and besides all this, our most useful Commodities of the Kingdom are tax'd at a prodigious Rate, either by way of Excise or Customs; and 'twill be difficult now to find out any new Funds to raise Money thereon, whatever Emergencies may happen, scarce is there any Commodity, except Corn or Flesh, that can bear any more Duties or Excises on them.

All the substantial Commodities of the Kingdom being already tax'd at the highest rate, unless as above, and some few inconsiderable Commodities scarce worth the naming.

And our Affairs seem yet worse than our Neighbours abroad, because its the practice of the *English* Nation to lay the heaviest Duties on the most Staple Commodities, and omit the taxing of such things as are but meer Superfluities, and serves only to indulge the Vanity of Mankind ; whereas abroad, and especially in *Holland*, they lay their Taxes so as may effect most of those that they call *Idellmen*, that is, such as make a splendid Shew, and live after a Superfluous manner, which sort of Taxes hurts not the Industrious and Labourious Man. And the way they take to ease their Country as much as they can, is first of all they lay their Excise both upon Flesh, Bread and Beer, that all in general that be Travellers there, or any that lodgeth but a Night in any of their Territories may pay out of what he Eats and Drinks something to the State ; and he that is most extravagant and profuse in his living, still pays in proportion to the State for what he spends. So again, the Travellers that do but travel in their Roads, pay to the State either by Horse, Coach or Waggon.

But God forbid that any of these Excises should be imitated by us, we hope they shall never be a president for us to follow, yet is there something in their way of taxing their Lands, &c. That had we follow'd it, this Nation had been out of Debt ; or near it at this Day, and that is the equality of Taxes, the one
in

in the Commonwealth is not more burthen'd than another, there is no partiality us'd in the levying their Taxes, every one taxes himself at his peril of paying double, by which Means all Taxes are equally laid ; whereas in *England*, upon a four Shilling Tax, or a two Shilling Tax ; one pays full four Shillings in some Countries, and others pay but half, and scarce that ; for in some Places upon a Land-Tax, 16 *d.* per Pound is paid in the room of four Shillings, besides no Money or other Estate can be found to be taxed as it ought to be in *Britain* ; and 'tis by these Means in a great measure, that the Nation is so much in Debt, besides these practices in Foreign Parts, especially the Place before mention'd, they make it their Business to ease Trade above all things, and interpret every Dispute about the Duties to be paid by the Merchant in his Favour ; whereas we in *England* do all we can to load the Trade by excessive Duties, to ease the Land as is pretended, but in truth is but a Design upon our selves ; for if the Goods and Merchandises be taxed, the Goods the Farmer or his Landlord buys, must be in proportion rais'd to him that buys, and he that buys must pay those extravagant rates out of the Rents of the Land, so 'tis indeed but deluding our selves, and discouraging the Trade.

But again, as is before, the *Hollanders* have another way to ease their People, by laying their Taxes on the needless things, and that which serves only for Pleasure and ease ; they lay a Duty on every one that keeps a Coach or Horses, according to their Number ; they tax all the Pomp that is us'd at Burials, so many Coaches

Coaches as attend, so many *Gilders*, &c. They raise Money upon the Buryal-Ground, &c. These things, tho' they raise a great deal of Money from the Wealthy, the ordinary Trader feels it not.

They also lay a heavy Duty on all sorts of Wine sold in Publick Houses, but very little on the Wines made use of in their own Families; which hath this good effect, that Men will stay at home to drink their own cheap Wine, rather than go to the Tavern to drink dear Wine, and not half so good.

But now we in *England*, on the contrary, we lay our Taxes on the most Staple Commodities of the Kingdom, such as Coals, Salt, Candles, Leather, Soap, &c. which is felt excessively by the trading People, and the meaner sort, and our Merchants import an excessive quantity, besides our Prohibition of several sorts of *East-India* Goods, &c. under the supposition of advantage to our own Manufactory, which others say is but deceiving our selves, and a damage to the Crown by the Draw-backs on the Exportation, and which Goods return again by stealth, in other Ships, and the Nation's Trade no wit the better.

And some in our Country, when we tell them of making Laws to regulate Trade, they say that Laws about Religion and Trade may go together; and if there were fewer human Laws about them both, yet Religion and Trade would find a Channel by a natural course, as without an act of Parliament, at least the Trade would.

But

But to return, there is another Consideration which relates to the present State of the Nation, besides what have been above touch'd upon; and that is the publick Banks and Stocks, 'tis confess'd on all Hands to be a very ticklish thing to handle, and may be of dangerous Consequence to give any Opinion about it. Credit is like a coy Mistrefs, she must be courted and dealt gently with, for fear she takes such a distaste, as may spoil the whole Design.

The *Bank* in general hath been of great use and service to the Nation during the late War, and without which I do readily own, scarce could the War been carried on without it; but in time of Peace, none will say, I believe, there is such necessity, if any at all, especially such as the Bank of *England* is, which hath its whole Capital in the Government, and lives and subsists its vast Credit only upon the *Annual* Interest that comes from the Government.

This I take differs very much from other Banks; for a Bank properly speaking, is no more than a Repository, where I may at all times find my Principal Money as well as my Interest, and 'tis upon that which I rely on for my Security, that is, that my Principal Money is always there as a deposit.

This is not now the Case here as to this Bank, but the Credit and the Interest is all you have for your Money; and while King *GEORGE* is on the Throne, no doubt but 'tis a good Security for your Money; and the chief ground of the vast Reputation the Bank is in, and the great Credit of the Nation at this present,
chiefly

chiefly arises from the great Prospect the Nation hath of the Life and Reign of King George and his Issue.

Yet still it may not be amiss to go a little farther in the Consideration of this Bank and the Credit of the Nation; as to the publick Good to us in the Country, we say and with great Reason as we think, that the Bank is a good Thing for those that are deeply concern'd in it, and do readily own that they and others have got over-grown Estates by it and the other Funds; and they, or most of them are bought cheap, and now may or have sold very dear; and reap a greater Advantage by continuing in the Bank &c. and much greater than they can do in the way of Trade, which those Bankers leave, as being more hazardous and troublesome than Banking; and the World is now grown to that Pass, that Luxury and Idleness seems the greatest Design of Mankind.

But we in the Country, say the Nation receives no Benefit thereby, but Loss, tho' the interested Men therein have prodigious Gain; for we say, and so in Truth it is, that all the Money almost both in Country and City is brought up here to this Bank, and the sweetness of it is only to the Palate of those interested therein, while many a poor Man suffers for want of Money to be employ'd in Trade, which People would be ready to lend, where there not such a Bank and such Funds to put their Money into, where they can make double the Money they can do to lend it to trade with; besides this, how many are there that

that put off poor Men they owe Money from Month to Month, and Quarter to Quarter, meerly for the Lucre of 2 or 3 *d per Diem*, for 100 *l.* then running in the *Bank*, and in the *Funds*, nor can any shew an Advantage to the Publick, that a heap of Money of Two or Three Millions of Cash lying in one Place, as a Dung heap, ever did good to the Nation, 'tis rather, as a heap of Dung good for nothing but waste, till it be spread: Add to this, the Danger of such Sums being in any one Place, Mobbs and Rebellions may happen hereafter, as well as before.

But if such vast Profit is now, and has been made, as eight or nine *per Cent.* which comes into private Hands, and only upon bear Credit and Interest Money as above: Why might not the Publick towards the Payment of the Debts receive some Advantage thereby? And if the *Bank* by their prudent Management have obtained such vast Advantage upon such small Adventures, why may not they have a farther Credit, receiving the whole Revenue of the Kingdom, which now goes through the *Exchequer*, and improve it in the same manner for the Publick, as now for their private Interest; or at least, that some way may be found out for the Government to be a little eased of that vast Interest they now pay to this *Bank*, and the rest of the *Funds*; that the Lands may not always be the Pack-Horse?

And Sir, may it not be unworthy of Consideration, that such a load of Debts lying on the Nation, and the *Funds* so very weighty as they are; were it not better to ease the Nation a little

little by Degeees than to run the Risque of so great a Weight, that may endanger one time or other the sinking of the whole : But these Things are worthy of your more serious Consideration, therefore I shall not trouble you any farther about the Bank at this Time.

But, Sir, there is another Consideration as weighty as any before-mention'd, and that is the Debauchery and Licentiousness of the Nation; which cant be pass'd over without Grief, and it were well if it only reach'd us of the Laity; but I fear 'tis gone farther, and even crept into our Churches, of which I know you are very tender, therefore shall only hint at one thing, which if you think fit at the next Meeting of the *Convocation* may be alter'd, I found it in your *Common-Prayer Book*, and that is in the *Catechising* your Children, they are taught to say, as I have already hinted, that in the *Sacrament* the Bread and the Wine are verily and indeed the very Body and Blood of our Lord, which, Sir, I think tends to the debauching the poor Children into *Popery*; and the *Papists* cast it every turn in our Dish, and we know not what to answer them to it: Therefore tho' we know well the Church is always averse against parting with any Thing they have got, yet sure in such a Thing as this, and some other the like, it will not be amiss, in case the *Convocation* omit the altering it, that you will further put your Hand to so good a Work the next Meeting in Parliament, you being the Representative of that Loyal University of *Oxford*, where all Virtue is, or ought to be taught at this Time.

But

But Sir, as to the Debauchery of the Laity, and that Inundation of Wickedness that reigns among us, 'tis like a spreading Leprosie which no human Laws have yet been able to prevent, nor with submission can be done; since the good Example of his Pious Majesty the late King *Charles* the 2d having made so deep an impression, that it will be very difficult to rase it out in this Generation; however, sure some endeavours ought to be us'd, least God's Judgments reach us as well as others: And certainly Sir, no Laws like those that will execute themselves.

Penal Laws are found but insignificant things to reform a People, and therefore why should not such Laws be made, as will be the Interest of the People to keep them? And sure Sir, never was it more necessary than at this time, when we see the Scum of the People, the Drunkards, the Swearers, Whores, Bauds, Pickpockets, and the Rakes about City and Country, and all the *Newgate-Birds*, are almost the only People that some of the Church make use of to affront the Government, and to place themselves in Mobs and Tumults, to disturb the Kingdom, in order for a New Rebellion.

Now Sir, tho' no private Person ought to be so presumptuous as to give Forms or Directions for Laws to be made to prevent these growing Evils of Debauchery, &c. yet sure it can't be taken as a Crime to tell his Thoughts, and leave the same for your Consideration. Now then Sir, suppose a Law passed, that no Man whatever that should be guilty of Swearing, Cursing, Whoring or Drunkenness, should be capable

capable of holding or enjoying any Place of Profit, or Honour in the Kingdom for seven Years, from the time of his being found guilty, where would be the hurt more in this than was in your Law lately made against *Occasional Conformity* and the *Schism Act*? And if the Lewd Women, and Night-Walkers were by a Law to be either Transported, or set at Work for Years or Life, where would the hardship be? Would it not be their own wilful Fault if they Suffer? And where would be the hurt, if a Law was made, That whoever work'd, or travel'd on the Lord's-Day, unless in case of absolute Necessity, for them to be seiz'd and committed to the County Goal without Bayl, for 3 or 6 Months? Could any in this case be said to be hardly dealt with, when 'tis their own act, and they may avoid it if they please?

But Sir, there is another Consideration of no smaller Moment than what is mention'd before, and that is the excessive Charge, and groaning Burthen of the Poor throughout the Kingdom, and the daily encrease every Year, occasion'd chiefly as I conceive, by that Act pass'd in the 43d of Queen *Elizabeth*, which, no doubt, was then well intended, as the *Reformation* was heretofore in the Church; but certainly that Act never intended that the Nation should be enslav'd by the Poor, and the Officers of the Parish which govern them. This Sir, we can't but know, is become one of the greatest Burthens to the Nation; for the Poor's Rates in many Places is now bigger than the Land-Tax, and still like to be more, unless some Care be taken therein.

Now

Now Sir, 'tis very plain by that Act, that the Officers in most, if not all the great Parishes about Town and Middlesex do too much abuse the Inhabitants under the colour of that Act; for the Words of the Act is, *Gives them no Power to raise Money, but to set the Poor at Work, and to maintain such Poor as are lame, blind, and unable to Work; but instead of that, they raise Money at their Pleasure upon the Inhabitants, to give to all such as they call Poor, and to Feast themselves with the Poor's Money, which is now become so burthensome to the Inhabitants, that without some Remedy can be found out, 'twill be in a short time worse than a Land Tax of five Shillings in the Pound; and the Poor will command you, instead of thanking you for your Charity.*

But say the People, what Remedy can be had? It's acknowledg'd a very difficult Question to Answer; but sure there may, and must be some Remedy found out, at least to make it more easie than 'tis now. Pray therefore Sir, let us look abroad a little, and see what other People have done, and yet do for the easing the Inhabitants, and providing for their Poor. First, the Jews and Quakers in this our Land are highly to be commended, they Maintain their own Poor by a voluntary Charity, gather'd from among themselves, and we find none of their Poor a begging in our Streets: This Sir, I doubt not, but you will say is highly commendable; but to look abroad till the late Wars, *Holland* had no Beggars in the Streets, nor Law to tax the Inhabitants for the maintaining their Poor, and were it not that it might be thought a thing below us to follow the

Example of a Commonwealth, I would have it consider'd, what steps they take for the maintaining their Poor: First, as I said before, there's no Tax laid on the Inhabitants, but all is voluntary; the several Churches throughout the State's Dominions, every Lord's Day in the middle of Sermon time, they have their Deacons to each Church, and one after another goes about to every individual Creature in the Church, Man, Woman, Servant and Child, with a black Bag at the end of their Staff, to collect their Charity twice over, all gives something tho' never so small; and when that is over, a Box is sent from House to House the same Day, to collect what each Inhabitant thinks fit to give, all give something, but none knows what another gives; and that which is so gather'd, is every Munday Morning by the Deacons and Elders divided amongst the Poor of that Parish, or District: if that falls short, the Magistrates themselves once a Month, or six Weeks, go with a Silver Plate from House to House to gather their Charity openly, and they take Notice of the Liberality or Niggardness of the Persons that throw into that Plate; and this, with the Charges of Funerals, which goes to maintain the Poor, is sufficient for the Poor's Maintenance, and none grumbles at.

Now Sir *William*, Why in the first Place should not every Church, or Meeting-House maintain their own Poor, as the *Jews*, the *Dis-senters* and *Quakers* do? And then it will follow, that your Church, the *Always in the Right Church*, and the most able and populous Church, should

should do the like, and the *Dissenters, Jews, &c.* be oblig'd only to maintain their own Poor only; especially if it be consider'd, that these *Jews and Dissenters* have no Tithes to maintain their Poor and Ministers as yours have. Sure 'tis but just that every Church should maintain their own Poor, at least those that have all the Profit, where the other hath none but the Charity.

But, Sir *William*, to ease your Church as much as may be, if it be not thought fit to follow these *Dutch* Examples in all Points, yet sure to repeal that Law of *Queen Elizabeth*, and all other Laws that tends to the enslaving the Nation to the Poor, ought to be consider'd, whether to let it stand as now it does; and that the Money given at the *Communion* in each Parish, and the Money rais'd on Births and Funerals, and for the Ground or Buryal Place ought not to be appropriated to the Maintenance of the Poor; and whatever is so gather'd either Voluntary, or Assessment, ought not to be spent in Treats and Feasts, as is the practice of most Parishes in and about this City.

Thus Sir, I have hinted at some few Observations, not only what happen'd in the last Reigns, but also some things in this His Majesty King *GEORGE'S* Reign; what remains, I shall be very brief in all, upon His Majesty's arrival from his own Dominions, which I hope, Sir, you as heartily Congratulate as well as others; and that we may with him enjoy the Fruits and Blessings of Peace, and not throw away our Advantages, having so hopeful a Prospect: Tho' 'tis true, it has been done here-

tofore, after the late *Revolution* brought about, under God, by the late King *William*, of *Glorious* Memory, of which Sir, you your self, as well as your Neighbours, as *Oxford* then gave the helping Hand, to the great Satisfaction of all good Men; and had it not been for the private Piques and Animosities, Self-Interest, the Love of Places and Preferments in Court and Church. I say, had not that been Predominant in those Days, the Nation now would have needed neither a standing Army, nor a seven Years Parliament to have kept your Church in their due Obedience.

And Sir, 'tis no small Grief to me, as well as you, that those who have been preaching up their *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* Doctrine, ever since the *Stuart's* Race began, should now be so far from following their own Doctrine, broach'd at first to enslave Mankind, that now we must be forc'd to keep them in awe only by an Army so hateful to the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, and yet necessity calls for such an Army to free us from such unnatural Rebellions which they have acted, and still to be fear'd are daily acting, to the Destruction of this Kingdom.

But Sir, we have a Just, Wise, and a good King, that fears no Enemies, nor slights his Friends, ready to grant and pass any Laws for the good of the Kingdoms, as we may very well rely upon, both from his Words and Actions hitherto; and since His Majesty is now arriv'd, and the Parliament in a short time to sit, not only to provide necessary Supplies, but also necessary Laws for our Safety hereafter; and

by doing Justice to those who have been sacrificing the Nation in the late Reign, to their cursed Pride and Covetousness, under the Notion of Peace and the Church.

Therefore Sir, since there is room left, and Opportunities put into our Hand to retrieve what we have been so long throwing away, under the Notion of the Danger of the Church. 'Twill reasonably be expected, that His Majesty may be at his Liberty to make use of all, or any of his *Protestants* in any Service, Civil or Military whatever, and that none of His Majesties *Protestant* Subjects may be any longer depriv'd of their Natural Birthright, because they scruple the taking the *Communion* with the Church of *England*, which hath brought upon the Nation this Charge, and Trouble of a standing Army, to keep them in Subjection.

For, you know Sir *William*, it was the Drift and Cry of the Church to Shackle and Fetter the *Dissenters*, by the *Occasional* and *Schismatical* Bills, That they the Church was in Danger, and could not go forward with their Designs, while the *Dissenters* had the least Liberty, and the Fettering them were no small part of the Plot, and the Rebellion that follow'd; and you know Sir, that a Brother Member of yours own'd, &c. That it was design'd to have taken away not only the *Dissenters* Birthright, of not enjoying any Places of Profit and Trust, but their Vote for Electing their Representatives to serve in Parliament: And no doubt, Sir *William*, the same had been effected, had not a sudden Blow prevented it from Heaven, which you Sir, cant be Ignorant of.

And Sir, since it was made use of as an Argument in the last Sessions without Doors, that great things were intended, when the *Triennial Bill* was alter'd ; it may be reasonably expected by the *Dissenters*, who are full of Faith, that either a thorow *Reformation* may be made, and the Church Doors set wide open, that all *Protestants* that can give Security to the Government for their Faith and Allegiance, and that are chosen by the several Charges or Parishes, may have an equal share of the Profits, which is scarce to be hop'd for in our Days : But if that be impossible, as it seems, yet sure the *Dissenters* may reasonably expect to be set down in the same Station and Place where *Queen Anne* found them ; especially Sir, when you know her late Majesty promis'd from the Throne, as well as in other Places, that she would inviolably maintain to the *Dissenters* that Liberty they had at her coming to the Crown, or to that effect ; and 'twas great Pity her Majesty should be advis'd to break her Word with the *Dissenters*, who never gave her the least Occasion, but by their Zeal for the *Hanover* Succession, and against the *Pretender*, which was the only thing that was the Cause of those New Laws in her time, that was enacted against them.

But Sir, to proceed to the further Consideration of the Nation, as already mention'd : The Debt, I presume, every Man wishes there might be ways found out to ease the Nation in that Point ; for till it be paid, or some way found out, the Danger of the Nation seems to be much greater than that of the Church, tho' that has always made the most Noise.

Now

Now Sir, it has been said to you before, that our Neighbours abroad have always made it their study to find out superfluous Things to lay their Taxes upon as much as possibly they could, and to ease the Trade, &c. And Sir, sure it were not amiss if we could imitate them in this, tho' we hate and damn the *Dutch*, on all other accounts: And why may it not be consider'd a little? Do they do nothing commendable but in two or three things? Let it be consider'd, and leave it. First, since there is such a vast Debt, why may not the useless Things be dispos'd of, to help to pay this vast Debt? I mean the waste Ground, the Forrests and Chaces in *England*, which is no Advantage to the Nation, nor scarce does good to any, but rather are a means of encreasing our Poor, instead of maintaining them. Pray Sir, Who would be the worse, if all those Lands were sold to go towards the payment of the Debt, except a few Park-keepers and Idle Persons that live near those Forrests and Chaces, and it were certainly very easie to make them a sufficient Recompence out of those Lands? A second way towards Payment of this vast Debt, might be by selling the *Lubber-Lands*; I mean the *Dean* and *Chapter* Lands, which serve for no other end, than to maintain a few Idle Gownmen, that do no good to the Publick, no more than the *Abbey* and *Monastery* Lands in *Henry* the 8th time, and were gotten by the same Pious Cheats from the poor Souls that own'd them, under the Notion of delivering, and praying for their poor Souls out of *Purgatory*, &c. or in short, to Bribe God Almighty to

save them when their Consciences prick'd them for their Lewdness, and Wickedness they had committed in their Life time.

'Tis true Sir *William*, this way last mention'd may seem a little harsh to you and some others, as that by such an Act to pass would endanger the Church indeed, and take away their inherent Right, being unjust to those that are now fix'd in Possession of such *Chapter Lands*: But Sir, with submission, I take it quite the contrary; and that if the Church had less of Riches and Pride, there would be found more of Religion and Vertue among them, and would border more upon *Primitive Christianity* than now they do, and I think this is sufficiently known throughout the World, the heaping of Riches on the Clergy in all Ages, has been the destroying the *Christian Religion*.

Not Sir that you, or any should think it can be design'd by these Sheets to suffer Christ's Ministers to starve, or want encouragement, far from it Sir, for I think no Minister of the Gospel but ought to be provided for by the Congregation, or Parish he administers to; at least more than now they enjoy; and that they and their Family ought to be sufficiently provided for, without falling into other ways for a Livelyhood, as too many do in your Church at this Day. But then Sir, that these Ministers may behave themselves as Christian Ministers; be on their good Behaviour to their Flocks; and not instead of feeding them, devour both the Sheep and the Lambs, as is but too visible, by what hath been said before: But again Sir, as to their being in the present Possession, let them,

them, in God's Name, enjoy it during their Lives; and as to the other Objection, that this would discourage Study and Learning, I think quite the contrary Sir *William*, unless they intend still to make Merchandise of the Gospel, as too many have hitherto done: But I take Religion to be another kind of Calling, and I think also that to have an Army of Priests in the Land of 30 or 40000, chiefly to read the *Common Prayer-Book*, and some florid Discourses from the Pulpit now and then for good Works, are but very unprofitable Servants to a Commonwealth, and equally as dangerous as that standing Army they have now brought upon us, by their late unnatural Rebellion.

But, Sir, in common Justice, why must this *Always in the right Church* be screen'd any more for paying to the maintaining this Standing Army, which they and the *Papists* have been as much or more in the fomenting and drawing in the *Papists*, as they say, in this unnatural Rebellion, and still cherish the Seeds of it, and we find by *Dr. Hicke's Books &c.* and by their several Dying Speeches; why, Sir, must they the *Papists* pay 13 Shillings and 4d. in the Pound, towards the maintaining this Army, and this *High-Church* scarce any thing? Sir I appeal to you and all Honest Men in the Kingdom, whether if there had been such a Plot and Rebellion contriv'd by the *Fanaticks* or the *Dissenters*; and they had the Impudence to brave it out to the last, as these of the Church have done, whether they the Church would have been satisfied with any less than their whole Estates to have been

been a tolerable Compensation; and shall this *Always in the right Church* still escape, and we poor Country-men bear the Burden of maintaining the Army they have caus'd to be rais'd, and their Estates go scot-free? No sure *Sir William*, it cant be hop'd, since its notorious that they still continue in the same Principles, and wait only for a fair Opportunity to do more Mischief; that they and their Church-Lands and Livings shall pay equal to the *Papists*, if not beyond them, tho' indeed, *Sir William*, its said, that notwithstanding the Clause in the Land Tax, yet the *Papists* pay no more than their Neighbours.

And since we have seen now their Endeavours are for an Independence from the Civil Government, and that they esteem themselves Lords Paramount all, 'tis sure high time to take away their Stings, and then let them hiss like the old Serpent, as long as they please; and sure *Sir William*, 'tis but just, that those that own not themselves to be under any Government, but depending on some other, should be treated as Enemies both to us and our Government, and never be any more trusted either with Power or Riches, at least 'till they have learn'd better Manners, and more Loyalty to their Natural Sovereign King GEORGE; and if you account it too harsh to reduce them to the Bag and the Basket, which was their Original Rise, yet to pare their Nails, that they may not hurt their Fellow Creatures as heretofore, is but just.

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And Sir, tho' in our unthinking and degenerate Age, we may despair of a total Reformation, yet the destroying of Priestcraft, and the Seeds of it sown by the Devil in these Kingdoms, cant but be a good Step to a Reformation hereafter.

But Sir, if no Reformation can be had without Danger to this *Always in the right Church*, which is so hateful to them, and is the only Thing they fear, 'tis time to make them pay for their Actions, or to take care of our Youth for the time to come, that they have no more the Education of our Young ones, to breed them up and document them in such Rebellious Principles, as tend to the Ruin both of Church and State; for who does not see that since the Restoration of *Charles II.* the Practice and Studies of the Universities have been in great measure a Means to debauch their Pupils in their Principles and Practices, and that at this Day the Youth and the Nation are poyson'd with their Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, 'till they have blown them up to a down-right Rebellion; and if there can be found out no better a Way to instruct our Youth but by such Guides, what may this Nation expect but Ruin and Destruction?

'Tis true Sir, Learning is commendable, but Honesty more commendable; and if there be none that have Learning and Ability to instruct the Youth, but such as are Black-gowns, which I do not believe; if that shou'd be so, of which there's not the least ground to believe, yet it

were

were better to breed them up in any other Trade or Calling, than in those nonsensical Principles.

Now then Sir, not to give you any farther Trouble upon this Consideration of a Reformation in the Church, which it may be is unfavoury both at this Time as well as other Times, tho' of absolute Necessity for the very Being of the Church; I shall only put you in mind what our Law is at this time about the Church, it is this, you know Sir, the King is Head of the Church, and Defender of the Faith, as well over all Causes as Persons, both Sacred and Civil, as all your Pulpits continually rung loudly of during the 5 or 6 last Reigns, King *William* and Queen *Mary's* excepted; and since it is so, and can't be deny'd now; and since there has been, and still is so much Mischief hatch'd, and continu'd by those Clergymen, as you have seen; and since the Poyson is so infective, by which the Scum of the Nation have been poysoned, by the Doctrine of those Clergymen, and tis still in their Will and Power to carry on the same Designs, not only secretly but openly, to the danger of the State; I say then, why may it not be thought Just or Reasonable? And indeed as seems to be of absolute Necessity to give King *GEORGE* a Power by Law to suspend and put out any Clergyman whatever *ab Officio & Beneficio* for the Space of seven Years only, if he thinks fit, without any Cause shown.

Sir, This can do no Hurt to any Man's Right, twill only tame their rough Tongues, and teach them Good Manners; and I persuade my self that were there such a Law to put it in the
King's

King's Power to suspend them as before, they would demean themselves so dutifully to his Majesty, that very few, if any, would lose his Preferment, and might be a great step to the Reformation we have been speaking of, and to the allaying all the Heats and Divisions in the Kingdom.

And Sir, I would not have you frightened at this Proposal, or think it so very strange as it may at first sight seem to be: for I can inform you of a like thing done, and a stranger than this, put upon the whole Nation; and that was, Sir, if you please to remember, in King Charles the 2d time, at the instigation of the then Church of *England*, there was an Act pass'd to give the King Power not only to suspend all Persons from acting in Corporations, throughout the Kingdom, for a time that the King should like, but a total Deprivation or Dismission forever; and accordingly Sir, you'll know, all the Corporations almost were so modell'd, and they left none in, but what the Court and Church thought fit; and by which Purgations, those Corporations came entirely to be in the Interest of the Court and Church Party; and you know the Consequences thereof.

And this Sir you can't but remember, the endeavours and struglings there was in the beginning of the Reign of the late King *William*, about the like thing, to turn out those that had a Hand in the surrendering of *Charters*, &c. and you know whom we may thank that it did not pass; and is there not as much Reason that a Reformation should be made now, and those turn'd out, whoever they were,

were, that sign'd and promoted those Villanous Addresses to the late Queen, wherein they not only thank'd her for that shameful Peace, made by her Ministers in Confederacy with the French King ; but even told her, That an *Indefeasible Hereditary Right* was her Title to the Crown, and that no Law whatever could take away that Right, and that her Will was the Law, &c. All done for no other end, by those Addresses, but to defeat the *Hanover* Succession. And Sir, can it be thought a thing unreasonable, that Men that will set their Hands to such Principles to enslave the Nation, that such ought to be trusted to give their Votes for Elections in Parliament, that are Enemies to the Liberties of the Nation ?

Sure Sir, no reasonable Man will think it, and it cant be thought any hardship, if before a New Parliament comes to be chose, that such Electors shou'd be depriv'd of their Right, who have made it their Study, and still do, to take away the whole Nation's Rights and Liberties ; and it may not be unworthy your Consideration, whether this way of dealing with our home Adversaries, were not better than a seven Years Parliament, instead of a *Triennial* one. And, Sir, whereas the Clergy, as we have plainly shewn have been, and still are the Bain of all the Evils that have happen'd to the Nation, and 'tis to be fear'd still will be.

Is it not high time to examine their Right, as to their pretended Votes for Members of Parliament ? We all know they are represented by their Convocation, and by the Bishops in the Upper House ; and that till the time of

Charles

Charles the 1st, they did not Vote in any Elections in the Counties, and how they come now to be doubly represented seems very strange, and an Abuse upon the Free-holders; for, because they have a Cure of Souls, and tho' no Glebe Land belonging to their Cure, yet they venture to swear these Words in the Statute, viz. *That they have Forty Shillings a Year of Freehold Lands, or Tenements in this County, &c.* Now, How many of them who have no Lands or Tenements, can swear this Oath, or be allow'd to swear it, as the Statute directs, sure ought to be examin'd for the Reason aforesaid; and that if it be thought a Hardship to take away their Publick Lands and Tenements, which the Church heretofore have cheated poor deluded Souls of, for the freeing them from Purgatory as before mention'd, &c. yet to give further Power over other Men's Lands and Tenements, seems very hard Sir *William.*

However, Sir, there we shall leave them, and trouble you no farther on that Head; and but just touch on one or two things more, that has been already mention'd, which is the Poor; and that brings me to mention one thing that seems wholly unthought of, and that is the poor Wretches that are every Sessions discharg'd out of *Newgate*, &c. and in many Sessions not less than Scores, if not Hundreds, some Pardon'd, some Sentenc'd, and found guilty only of *Petty Larceny*, some discharg'd for want of Proof, &c. These poor Wretches having once been in *Newgate*, and so deliver'd; when they come out thence, they must either beg or starve, or fall to their old Trade of Thieving again, and so make

make Fewel for the Gallows the next Sessions it may be: For if poor when they come out of *Newgate*, and if they would turn Honest, and work for their Living, none will employ them, nor scarce give them a Morsel of Bread that have no better a Recommendation to excite Pity, but their being just come out of *Newgate*.

So then Sir, of course these poor Creatures must into *Newgate* again, or else starve, no Provision being made for them, tho' no doubt but 'tis in the Power of the Magistrates to take some Course to set those poor miserable Creatures at Work, at least for some time after coming out of Prison, to preserve them from the Gallows or other Destruction.

Of this Sir *William*, no Care is taken, while in the mean time, for an outside Charity, and to make a show in the Streets, and to grace the Parson and Heads of the Parish, we see a Gang of Boys and Girls are nurs'd up to go through the Streets on Sundays to Church, to make a fine show in their Liveries, and to make a Noise there at the Psalms and the Responses, that drowns the rest of the Parishioners Voices; and to encourage this Pageantry, there is as sure a *Siquis*, almost every Week, in some of our News Papers, of Charity Sermons to be preach'd by the Reverend such a one, in such a Parish, such a Day in the Forenoon, and by the Rt. Reverend such a one, in the same Parish in the Afternoon: Well then, and what are these Children to do besides the show? Why first, they must be taught to cry out for *High-Church* and *Ormond* it may be, or something

thing worse, and to answer to Responses Sir *William*; and the Church Catechise, *verily and indeed*, and to make a Reverence to the Parson and Heads of the Parish, whereever they meet them, and in short, to be a Nursery of absolute *Tories* hereafter, and this is the Use and End of this Charity, except the Applause the Church gets by it, which is the chief thing aim'd at, as we may reasonably believe by the Noise, and an outward gaudy Charity, as well as an outward gaudy Worship, is always most pleasing to our Churchmen; that is, I mean those that love to distinguish themselves by their Garments from the rest of Mankind.

Now Sir *William*, were there some more necessary Care taken, for the saving those and such like poor Souls from the Gallows; I am confident it would be of more Service to the Nation, and more acceptable to the Almighty. But I must confess, we have always been for a Charity that makes the greatest shew, as we have always been more Zealous for a Ceremony of Man's Invention under the Notion of Decency and Order, than for observing the strictest Precept of the Almighty.

But now Sir, 'tis time to draw near a Conclusion of this Letter, least Sir, your Patience be quite tir'd. I shall only therefore insist for the easing this intollerable Burden now on the Nation, by the Poor's Rate, that I hope neither your Church, nor any honest *Englishman* will be against the propagating all Gifts at the Communion Table, to be wholly apply'd to the Poor, and all Duties arising from Buryal-
L Ground,

Ground, or by Funerals, &c. may be preserv'd only for the Poor, and all Persons that have for 7 Years last past, at least that have handled the Poor's Money, may be brought to a fair and just Account, and those miserable, afore-mention'd, be taken Care of, instead of such our Zeal for fine Shews and Pageant Charity; and that if those Laws of the 43d of *Elizabeth* may not be repeal'd, and a voluntary Charity set up; yet that the burthen thereof may be some way or other eased, otherwise in a little time the Nation must be their Slaves, instead of being their Benefactors.

I have but one thing to detain you about, since the Session of Parliament now draws near, which calls for your Attendance, and that is what has been touch'd upon already, the *Bank* and Publick Stocks, &c. How dangerous soever it be to touch thereon, for fear of the Credit of the Nation, which is now so great, as never was before, yet there may be Vicissitudes as well hereafter as heretofore; and it can't be amiss, to make Provision against all Events that may happen, Storms have risen on a sudden, and may do again, and our Neighbours abroad love us not heartily I doubt, whatever colour they are now forc'd to put on it; and therefore if the Nation can be eas'd with Safety of any part of the Debts, by lowering the Interest, why should it be delay'd? And tho' it may be unsafe to touch the Bank, yet sure it can't be unjust to look into the *South-Sea* Stock, and how it came to be made up, being but an Artificial Trick and Cheat upon the Nation of

a Trade in the Air, for 'tis certain its no other ; and those that then had Debts due, that went to make up that Ten Millions Stock at that time, their particular Debts to make it up, was not worth more than 60 or 70 *per Cent*: and so was sold ; and 'tis very hard, that the Nation now must pay 6 *per Cent*, tho' the poor People that sold it could get but 70 *l.* at most ; when that Cheat was put upon the Nation ; why that should not be abated in proportion ; I mean the Interest, sure deserves a little Consideration ?

And Sir, since the Nation lies under such Difficulties, by means of that great Debt now upon it, and that Places and Preferments seem to be the only Care now taken, and all those brave Men either dead or lost, which were in yours and my time, such that made it their study only for the good of the Kingdom, instead of enriching themselves by the Publick, and raising vast Estates out of the Nation's Miseries : And since Places and Preferments seem to be the only Quarrel among the Courtiers, &c. Why not all the Salaries, Wages, Pensions and Profits of all Places in the King be either sold, or one half of the Value thereof yearly appropriated to the Payment of this vast Debt, and freeing the Nation from its Danger ?

F I N I S.

